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NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ALBANIA

Alia Congratulates Bulgaria's Mladenov on Election *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Carcani Condolence Telegram to SFRY's Markovic *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Alia Speaks at Pogradec Party Conference 6 Nov *[ZERI I POPULLIT 7 Nov]* 1
    ATA Report on Alia Speech 4
Economic Progress Report for 12-18 Nov *[Tirana Radio]* 5

BULGARIA

Mladenov Comments on Leadership Change *[BTA]* 6
Politburo Assesses 'New Political Situation' *[Sofia Radio]* 6
Council of Ministers Discusses Economy *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Editorial Hails National Assembly's New Role *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 19 Nov]* 8
Mladenov's National Assembly Address *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Leading Dissident Remarks on Changes *[Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY 16 Nov]* 10
Ecoglasnost Leader Comments on Zhivkov Fall *[Paris LIBERATION 13 Nov]* 12
Lags in Radio, TV Developments Surveyed *[TRUD 13 Nov]* 13
Shevardnadze Supports New Bulgarian Policy *[BTA]* 13
Economic Cooperation With USSR Discussed *[Sofia Radio]* 13
    Session Opens *[BTA]* 14
Yotov Receives Hungary's Maria Ormos *[Budapest MTI]* 14
Lufthansa, Balkan Air Business Contacts Noted *[BTA]* 15
Agriculture Minister Speaks at FAO Session *[BTA]* 15

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'More Than 100,000' Demonstrate in Prague 20 Nov *[Paris AFP]* 16
    Authorities, Rights Activists Clash *[Vienna Radio]* 16
    200,000 Demonstrate *[Prague TV]* 16
    Unrest in Prague, Other Cities *[Paris AFP]* 16
    100,000 in Wenceslas Square *[Prague Radio]* 17
    Socialist Youth Chairman Speaks *[Prague Radio]* 17
    'Peaceful' Ostrave, Brno Demonstrations *[Prague Radio]* 18
    Students Protest *[Prague TV]* 18
    Prague, Bratislava Students To Strike *[Prague Radio]* 18
    Use of Force Denied *[Prague Radio]* 19
Government Issues Statement on Demonstrations *[Prague Radio]* 19
Jakes Denounces Attempts To Create 'Chaos' *[Prague Radio]* 19
Stepan Comments on Prague Events *[Bratislava Radio]* 20
Civic Forum Spokesman Cautions 'Keep Cool' *[Paris AFP]* 20
RUDE PRAVO Coverage of Prague Unrest *[20 Nov]* 20
RUDE PRAVO Urges 'Calm' Dialogue *[CTK]* 21
RUDE PRAVO on 'Accumulated Discontent' *[CTK]* 21
Resolutions to CPCZ Condemn Demonstrations *[Prague Radio]* 22
CPCZ CC Presidium Calls for School Resumption *[Prague Radio]* 22
Rights Group Demands Investigation of Violence *[Prague Radio]* 22
Security Forces' Actions Under Investigation *[CTK]* 22
RUDE PRAVO Reports 17 Nov Unrest *[18 Nov]* 22
Commentary Assesses 17 Nov Demonstrations *[Prague Radio]* 23
Havel on 'Power Struggle,' New Opposition Group *[Paris AFP]* 23

- Charter 77's Hajek on Leadership Change *[Paris Radio]* ... 24
- Women's Union 'Regret' Over 17 November Events *[Bratislava Radio]* ... 24
- Students on Problems, Unwarranted Punishment *[MLADA FRONTA 18 Nov]* ... 24
- Bratislava Students Demonstrate 21 Nov *[Bratislava Radio]* ... 24
- Socialist Party Leader Queried on 'Forum' Stance *[Budapest Radio]* ... 25
- CTK Reports Postponement of Krenz Visit ... 25
- Open Discussion at Teplice on Pollution *[Prague Radio]* ... 25
- Border Crossings From GDR to FRG Still 'Busy' *[RUDE PRAVO 13 Nov]* ... 26
- Cultural Cooperation Document Signed With FRG *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Nov]* ... 26
- Cooperation Agreement Signed With NOVOSTI *[RUDE PRAVO 11 Nov]* ... 26
- Lenart Receives AKEL Economic Delegation *[RUDE PRAVO 9 Nov]* ... 26
- Lenart Meets With Belgian Officials in Brussels *[RUDE PRAVO 15 Nov]* ... 27
  - Lenart Returns *[CTK]* ... 27

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

- Protests Held in Several Locations ... 28
  - Dresden Demonstration *[ADN]* ... 28
  - Silent Magdeburg March *[ADN]* ... 28
  - 50,000 in Halle *[ADN]* ... 28
  - Hundreds in Schwerin *[ADN]* ... 28
  - Cottbus Protest *[ADN]* ... 28
  - 100,000 in Leipzig *[ADN]* ... 28
  - Different Estimate *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 29
- Solidarity With CSSR Demonstrators Urged *[Vienna Radio]* ... 29
- CSSR Officials Discuss 'Critical' Situation *[ADN]* ... 29
- Pupils Demonstrate at Checkpoint Charlie *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 30
- Prosecutor Says All Demonstrators Released *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17 Nov]* ... 30
- Dresden Mayor, 'Group of 20' Member Talk *[ADN]* ... 30
  - Talks Resume *[ADN]* ... 30
- New JUNGE WELT Editor Appointed *[ADN]* ... 30
- Kuhrig Elected Chairman of GDR-Soviet Society *[ADN]* ... 30
- Several CDU Officials Resign Chamber Positions *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17 Nov]* ... 31
- Further on Women's League Resignation *[ADN]* ... 31
- Academy of Sciences Reinstates 2 Members *[ADN]* ... 31
- GDR's Seiters Visits, Meets Officials ... 31
  - Press Statement *[ADN]* ... 31
  - News Conference *[ADN]* ... 32
  - Seiters' Conference *[ADN]* ... 33
  - Seiters Discusses Talks *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 33
  - Seiters Meets Opposition *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 33
  - Seiters on Reform *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 33
  - At News Conference *[ADN]* ... 34
  - Visit Ends *[ADN]* ... 34
- Krenz Urges German Dialogue on Disarmament *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 34
- FRG Citizen Put on Trial for Espionage *[ADN]* ... 34
- Gerlach Dismisses Talk of Reunification *[ADN]* ... 35
- Editorial Rejects German Reunification *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17 Nov]* ... 35
- FRG Politican Says Nation Owes GDR Billions *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 15 Nov]* ... 35
- Border 'Provocation' Evidence Conveyed to FRG *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17 Nov]* ... 35
- Border Guards Watch as Soldier Defects *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 36
- 'Hooligans' Fleeing W. Berlin Police Expelled *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 36
- Abuse of Cross-Border Traffic Noted *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17 Nov]* ... 36
- Politburo Member Visits Border Crossing *[ADN]* ... 36
- Citizens Allowed to Sail in Coastal Waters *[Hamburg DPA]* ... 36
- 8,626,047 Visas Issued 9-16 Nov *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17 Nov]* ... 37
- Sorbs Call for Nationalities' Analysis, Law *[ADN]* ... 37
  - Parliament Meets *[ADN]* ... 37
  - Further on Sorbs *[ADN]* ... 37
- Defense Minister Ready To Talk With FRG *[ADN]* ... 37
  - Hoffman Interview *[East Berlin Radio]* ... 38

- Military Aviation To Reduce Noise Disturbance *[ADN]* 39
- Maleuda Says Trial of Honecker Possible *[Hamburg DPA]* 39
- Maleuda Views People's Chamber Tasks *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 14 Nov]* 39
- Rectors Adopt Statement on Restructuring *[ADN]* 40
- New Forum Leader Discusses Reunification *[London PRESS ASSOCIATION]* 40
- New Forum Cofounder on Free Elections *[Paris LIBERATION 13 Nov]* 40
- Editorial Questions SED Leadership Role *[NEUE ZEIT 10 Nov]* 41
- Church Official Wishes Success for Reform *[ADN]* 42
- Stolpe Discusses Changes, Emigration *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 11-12 Nov]* 42
- State Council Thanks Citizens for Letters *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 nov]* 43
- Marcus Wolf Views Causes of Changes *[Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 10 Nov]* 43
- Editorial Emphasizes Necessity for Renewal *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 10 Nov]* 44
- Prosecutor Proposes Invalidation of Sentences *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 16 Nov]* 44
- Krenz Congratulates Angola on Independence Day *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 11-12 Nov]* 44

HUNGARY

- National Bank President on Bush Aid Veto *[MTI]* 46
- General Electric Takes Over Half of Tungsram *[MTI]* 46
- EC Officials Delors, Dumas Visit, Hold Talks 46
  - Delors Comments on Aid, Visit *[MTI]* 46
  - Begin Visit *[MTI]* 47
  - Nemeth Recounts Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 47
  - Meet Party Figures *[MTI]* 48
  - Leave for Warsaw *[MTI]* 48
- Cooperation Requests Issued to EC, EFTA *[MTI]* 48
- Genscher To Visit, Sign Credit Agreement *[Budapest Radio]* 48
- Nemeth, Kohl Discuss Economic Cooperation *[MTI]* 48
- Romanians Continue To Hinder Border Crossings *[Budapest Radio]* 49
- Defense Minister Pays Return Visit to CSSR *[MTI]* 49
- Horn Congratulates GDR's Fischer on Reelection *[MTI]* 49
- HSP's Nyers Meets TASS, ADN Directors *[MTI]* 49
- New Ambassadors Approved for USSR, Israel *[MTI]* 49
- Israeli Entrepreneurs Interested in Cooperation *[MTI]* 49
- Medgyessy Holds Talks With Japan's Kaifu *[MTI]* 50
- 14th MSZMP Congress Set To Convene 17 Dec *[Budapest Radio]* 50
- HSP's Nagy Interviewed on Presidential Election *[NEPSZABADSAG 10 Nov]* 50
- Council of Ministers Holds Session 19 Nov 51
  - Advisory Body Assesses Policies *[MTI]* 51
  - Interview With Spokesman *[Budapest Radio]* 51
- Further Reportage on Upcoming Referendum 52
  - Preparations 'Well Under Way' *[MTI]* 52
  - Democratic Christians for Boycott *[NEPSZAVA 16 Nov]* 52
- HSP Reports Reports Party Status in Budapest *[MTI]* 53
- Opposition Parties Agree on Dismantling Roundtable *[MTI]* 53
- Defense Officials Interviewed on Army Abuses *[NEPSZABADSAG 14 Nov]* 53
- Glatz in Charge of MTI, MAGYAR HIRLAP *[Budapest Radio]* 55
- Trade Unions Reject Government Economic Program *[MTI]* 55
- Economic Statistics Released for Jan-Sep 1989 *[MTI]* 55

POLAND

- Cypryniak-Led Delegation Attends RCP Congress *[PAP]* 57
- Mazowiecki Receives USSR Ambassador Ciosek *[Warsaw Radio]* 57
- Sejm Accuses CSSR of 'Ecological Aggression' *[PAP]* 57
- Walesa Assesses U.S. Visit as 'Too Short' *[Warsaw TV]* 58
- Joint Statement on Kohl Visit to Poland Published *[RZECZPOSPOLITA 15 Nov]* 58
- Commentary Criticizes Kohl Visit Results *[Hoffman in TRYBUNA LUDU 18-19 Nov]* 63
- Rakowski Interviewed on Krenz, German Events *[TRYBUNA LUDU 18-19 Nov]* 64
- Trade Minister Comments on Visit to France *[PAP]* 66

Jaruzelski Meets With Journalists on Media Role *[Warsaw Radio]* 66
    Jaruzelski Address to Journalists *[PAP]* 67
Editorial on RZECZPOSPOLITA Policy *[Fikus, 14 Nov]* 67
Polish Banks: 'Banks Without Money' *[Warsaw TV]* 69
Mazowiecki Appoints National Bank Vice Presidents *[PAP]* 69
Gasoline, Diesel Prices Rise 19 Nov *[Warsaw Radio]* 69
Continuation of Prison Revolt in Gdansk Reported *[Warsaw TV]* 69
Blockade of Reactor Parts Delivery Continues *[Warsaw Radio]* 69
More Army Units To Be Disbanded 20, 22 Nov *[PAP]* 70
Swiecicki Urges Changes in Trade Policy *[POLITYKA 21 Oct]* 70
Senate Adopts Amnesty Law Extension 16 Nov *[Warsaw Radio]* 74
Second Congress of Liberals Opens in Gdansk *[PAP]* 74
    Liberals Support Mazowiecki *[PAP]* 74
Workers Issue Statement on No Representation *[PAP]* 74

ROMANIA

14th RCP Congress Starts Session 20 Nov *[AGERPRES]* 75
Commentary Defends Superiority of Socialism *[AGERPRES]* 75
Ceausescu Message on Students' International Day *[AGERPRES]* 77
Policy of 'Disideologization' Attacked *[AGERPRES]* 77
Cuban Foreign Minister Makes Visit *[AGERPRES]* 79
    Talks With Stoian End *[AGERPRES]* 79
    Further on Talks *[Havana Radio]* 80
    Talks End *[Havana TV]* 80
Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-17 Nov *[AGERPRES, etc.]* 80

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavs Prevented From Entering Romania *[TANJUG]* 81
    Traffic to Romania 'Normal' *[TANJUG]* 81
LCY Send Greetings to Romanian Party Congress *[TANJUG]* 81
Macedonian Leader Receives USSR Ambassador *[TANJUG]* 82
Serbian Assembly Critical of Possible Israeli Tie *[TANJUG]* 82
Assembly's Federal Chamber Holds Session 82
    Delegates' Questions Answered *[TANJUG]* 82
    Further on Proceedings *[TANJUG]* 83
Presidency Comments on Interethnic Ties *[TANJUG]* 86
Former Deputy Secretary Lovric Expelled From LC *[TANJUG]* 87
Milosevic Landslide in Serbian Presidency Election *[TANJUG]* 87
Serbian Assembly Questions Radiation Levels *[BORBA 30 Oct]* 88
Belgrade TU Asks for Government Confidence Vote *[TANJUG]* 88
MLADINA Has 'Overdone Fascist Propaganda' *[POLITIKA 17 Nov]* 88
Slovene Presidency Rejects Ljubljana Serb Rally *[Ljubljana Radio]* 89
Further Reportage on Controversial Vlasi Case 89
    Slovene Institutions Support Vlasi *[TANJUG]* 89
    Seen As 'Support to Separatists' *[POLITIKA 30 Oct]* 89
Kosovo Provincial Committee Session Held *[TANJUG]* 90
Kosovo LC Supports Serbian LC Candidates *[TANJUG]* 90
Pristina Press Views Kosovo LC Conference *[Hasani in RILINDJA 13 Nov]* 90
Alternative Croatian Groups Agree on Joint Action *[TANJUG]* 91
Macedonian Leaders' 'Personal Dislike' Viewed *[POLITIKA 8 Nov]* 91
Bosnia LC Announces Candidates for Top Posts *[BORBA 31 Oct]* 91
Protesters Urge Investigation of Local Scandals *[TANJUG]* 92

Alia Congratulates Bulgaria's Mladenov on Election

AU2011212189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Telegram from Comrade Ramiz Alia, president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to Petur Mladenov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria—date and place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of your election to the high position of chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I send you warm greetings and best wishes. I express the conviction that the traditionally friendly relations between the Albanian and Bulgarian peoples will continue uninterrupted to the benefit of both our countries and in the service of peace, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans.

Carcani Condolence Telegram to SFRY's Markovic

AU2011212589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Telegram from Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, to Ante Markovic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council—date and place not given]

[Text] I heard with deep sadness the news about the victims of the fire in the Aleksinac mine in Serbia. On behalf of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and in my own name, I send our sincere condolences to you and the families of the victims.

Alia Speaks at Pogradec Party Conference 6 Nov

AU1411141989 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 7 Nov 89 p 1-2

[Report on speech by Comrade Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, at Pogradec Albanian Workers Party District Committee Conference on 6 November: "Deepening Socialist Democracy Strengthens the Party's Work and Increases the Role of the Masses"]

[Text] After greeting the delegates in the name of the party Central Committee and wishing the conference success in its work, Comrade Ramiz pointed out the healthy climate prevailing throughout our country on the threshold of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the victory of the people's revolution. This atmosphere, he said, has been further aroused by the decisions of the Eighth Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee Plenum and the recent elections in the party.

In light of the eighth plenum's decisions, Comrade Ramiz continued, we must objectively appraise our achievements, view the state of our work with a critical eye, and find fresh opportunities everywhere to strengthen our socialist development in production and the life of society.

Pogradec, he then pointed out, is a town well known in our country not only for its natural beauties, its lake and picturesque surroundings, but for its hospitable people and workers with fine artistic tastes. Your district has been outstanding for dynamic development in all fields, in industry and transportation, agriculture and services, and in the development of tourism and cultural life. The material prosperity of the working people is at a satisfactory level.

Talking further about social and economic achievements, Comrade Ramiz said:

In the last 4 years, your district has met and surpassed its targets in industry, especially in coal and ferro-nickel mining. This is important for the economy of the entire country, because Pogradec is of considerable weight on a national scale where these products are concerned. Almost one-half of the coal and one-fifth of the ferronickel mined nationally comes from here. Through its labor, the Pogradec workers class delivers an average of 1 million tonnes of mineral wealth every year, equal to one-eighth of all the solid minerals mined nationally.

New investments will strengthen progress in industry, yet it is up to the workers and specialists of Pogradec to obtain maximum yields from the productive capacity that has been created, determinedly struggling to meet every production target and sales contract and to achieve a higher level of cost effectiveness.

Your district, like all others, has also recorded results in agriculture. However, in relation to other sectors, nonfulfillments have been greater and growth rates are low. The first secretary of your Party District Committee rightly said in his speech at the seventh Central Committee plenum that the economy has obligations toward agriculture.

You are at present obtaining from agriculture about 320 kilograms of crops, expressed in quantities of cereals, and 240 kilograms of animal products per head of population. This level of production shows that you are far from the targets set by the third Central Committee plenum on supplying the populace. Moreover, this level of production is also a long way short of the opportunities offered by your district's material conditions and natural resources. You have more than 2,400 square meters of land per head of population, or about 15 percent more than the national average. However, this land produces about 30 percent less production per surface unit than the national average. This has exerted a direct influence on the supply of the populace, still more so because the town of Pogradec almost doubles in size during the summer period.

In order to improve the people's food supply, Comrade Ramiz stressed later, the contribution of stockraising to the district's overall agricultural production must be urgently increased from its present level of 20-25 percent to 30-35 percent and more. A double task faces stockraising in your district, in increasing the number of cattle and especially small livestock, where you are significantly behind, and in improving yields. At present you obtain 35 liters of milk per ewe and 1,000 liters per cow. There can be no question of viable stockraising with such yields. There must be an immediate and radical change here.

Comrade Ramiz later drew attention to the need for faster seasonal work in agriculture and stockraising, and then said:

Pogradec is famous for its orchards. However, you have only realized the plans in this sector by 65 percent in the current 5-year period, which represents a shortfall of more than 10,000 tonnes of fruit and grapes, or more than one-half of an entire annual plan for the district. It is inexplicable that, although you have devoted about one-fifth of the cultivable land land to fruit, this area accounts for only between 2-7 percent of your agricultural production. Fruit cultivation is entirely in your hands. Its success mainly demands energetic work and scientific thinking. Let 1990 mark a turning point in achieving stable and significantly increasing production in this sector which is so promising for you and all regions of the country.

This year, as elsewhere in the country, you achieved better results in agriculture. Experience shows that social labor, expenditure, and investments in agriculture become more effective when we mobilize all our energies and harmonize all factors of land use and the care of crops and flocks. However, this must not arouse any feeling of complacency.

Let us bear in mind that the people and the economy have important needs for arable and animal products. We must therefore intensify our struggle to harvest as much as possible from nature and from the many investments we have made in agriculture, industry, and elsewhere, and which we are increasing. We must always be braced for useful work. Let us respond to situations as they arise with creative planning, practical, energetic, and systematic activity, and enlarge society's opportunities for higher consumption, increasing our potential for fresh developments.

The Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Ramiz said, is a summons to constructive debate and party-minded thinking, study, and concrete activity on the part of communists and all working people. At such revolutionary moments, the party is faced with the need for concentrated, professional, and persuasive political work.

Ideopolitical education can and must extend to the most ordinary working people, to all citizens in production, institutions, towns, and villages. Let us insist on education with sound arguments that encourage debate and the exchange of experiences, that value the personality of all individuals and increase their confidence in the future. This work must especially confront and conquer indifference and the kind of mentality that sets low expectations. It must attack the common belief that work in one production center or another must be put on the right lines not by the relevant basic organization or collective, but by some external factor. Let us particularly set our sights against the tendency for complacency and routine in labor which is embodied in people who criticize, issue warnings, and call for accountability, but make no move themselves; let us particularly fight against the dangerous symptom of laying hands on common property, as if it were a case of "finders keepers."

Let us not teach people to merely ask for things. Having power in your hands means working for it, not waiting for rights to come gratis; it brings obligations. Society has obligations toward working people, but all working people also have their duties toward society. These duties are reciprocal, and society can even only meet its commitments to working people when the people themselves carry out their obligations. The basis of the state's economic strength is the work of each individual, the labor of workers, peasants, and intellectuals.

Political and explanatory work, Comrade Ramiz pointed out later, must be carried out on problems of the internal development of the party, the economy, and culture, but there must also be more intensive work on international developments and our international standpoints and activities with foreign countries.

Situations are evolving fast, and problems are becoming more complicated; they call for interpretation. The work of explanation done by the party and state leadership is not enough. There must also be intensive work to interpret and explain world developments, especially those around us, in districts, enterprises, cooperatives, workplaces, towns, and villages. Developments in the world must be explained in a class spirit, drawing conclusions about their consequences for our country in the field of trade, economic cooperation, cultural relations, our investment priorities, defense, and so forth, but also in order to equip people with political logic to confront the diversions being mounted against our country, socialism, and the communist and workers' movement.

The party must insist that educational and political work must divest itself of any sign of formalism and fossilization. It must communicate with people as much as possible. Working people on all fronts demand concrete standpoints on the problems that life produces and the difficulties they encounter. They want an optimistic approach in order to forge ahead, and they want encouragement in order to reach the highest objectives in fresh developments. There can be no effective propaganda or convincing education without the vital content, realism, objective analysis, and a dialectic approach to processes in life, production, and foreign policy.

Bureaucracy hampers the management of the economy, restricts the sphere of socialist democracy, and violates the legitimate interests of individuals and social groups, but is also extremely dangerous for the educational work of the party and its instruments. Any underestimation of symptoms of bureaucracy in this field fosters a tendency to generalize problems and situations. This smothers the activity of basic organizations, cadres, and even entire working collectives.

When the party speaks and encourages the initiative of working people, cooperativists, and specialists, it is not the task of propaganda and educational work to parrot the directive. The active role of propaganda increases when it trains its sights against harmful and dead-end practices, rules that time has rendered obsolete, anachronistic situations, and symptoms that hinder progress and advanced experience. Only militant propaganda can touch people's feelings and encourage effective organization and innovative activity among working people.

After talking about certain other issues in connection with the need to rouse a spirit of communist militancy, Comrade Ramiz said:

Strengthening the party's work and increasing the role of the masses in all the country's life is directly connected with deepening socialist democracy. Life has convinced us that working people's spirit of initiative and the strictness of their control are decisive factors for the success of our work and the development of socialism.

Under our present conditions, there is a noticeable contradiction between the high political, educational, and cultural level of the working people, on one hand, and some aspects of the legislation and rules that regulate economic and social life on the other hand. We are entering into a qualitatively new, intensive phase of developing our productive and sociocultural activities; however, management and planning methods that encourage and give priority to extensive approaches, that make every activity dependent on state finance, that fail to consider the large scale of production and investments, the real contribution of the country's districts and regions to social reproduction, and the great variety of advanced experience, are still present and in full force.

Initiative and innovation call for a further expansion of democracy in production. It is the working people who carry out our plans, and conditions therefore must be secured under which their voice and their thinking carries weight and assumes ever greater importance. If not a trace remains of the draft plans that come from the enterprises and the districts, because they are changed by executive committees or ministries, this must make economic bodies pause for thought. The main thing is that every working collective and economic unit should, in its planning, financial, and control methods, demand more of itself and be drawn naturally into the struggle of labor to exploit internal reserves. This is a wide field of socialist democracy that affirms working people as real masters of social property.

Three kinds of interests meet in our society, those of society as a whole, of the group, and of the individual. However, it is not rare in practice for the two first to be equated, blurring the border between the interests of the state as a whole and those stemming from every cooperative, institution, or enterprise as a collective. This seems to better defend the interests of society and socialism, but in fact has the opposite effect. All underestimation of the interests of the group and the collective not only weakens the motive power of society but encourages narrow individual interests.

Treating cooperatives in planning, distribution, consumption, and in their use of funds almost as if they were agricultural enterprises means underestimating cooperativist democracy and blunting the peasantry's initiative and zeal. To equate the interests of individual enterprises with those of the state as a whole means to restrict economic accountability, to encourage apathy among the workers class in the workplace, to inhibit creativity and innovation, and to encourage a process of leveling down.

Of course, this gives rise to and fosters simplification, overconcentration, chains of command, and uniform regulations down to the smallest unit on wages, the labor force, organization, and duties, not only in state enterprises, but also in agricultural cooperatives, with routine work and inertia in introducing progressive methods. All these things are signs of bureaucracy in economic management, which narrows the scope of socialist democracy. We encounter this in the relations of central institutions with districts and enterprises, but also in relations between the districts and the base and other levels.

Improving management, planning, financial, statistical, and control methods, freeing them from routine and obsolete routines, enables us to assess concrete conditions everywhere, and to bear in mind tendencies of development. At the same time, it expands the field of democracy in production, enables working collectives to realize their legitimate interests, and encourages the revolutionary initiative of the broad masses.

I am talking about democracy in production, but the party must fight to deepen democracy in the activity of social organizations and in state bodies in towns and villages also, where the people live and where vital problems are solved.

There can be no democracy without examining these problems and the way the people live. Working people do not just want democracy in general, purely in theory; they want genuine democracy in the service of the people's needs. The party must fight for democracy in production and social life. Every communist, cadre, veteran, and all working and young people must show their militancy in this field.

Comrade Ramiz went on to say:

The eighth plenum's demand to raise the productivity of social labor also involves improving educational work and deepening socialist democracy. Higher productivity expresses both the dynamism of the development of productive forces and the stimulating energy of economic relations. Our society needs to vastly increase its level of labor productivity in the future, but also needs more productivity at once. We must devote our efforts to fulfilling plans everywhere and to mobilizing our many internal reserves, the transformational energies of science, and the policy of giving priority to the use of the material and financial resources of society to this strategic goal of our social order. We must also use for the same purpose the expansion of our economic ties with foreign countries and the adaptation of the structure of our economy to trends of scientific and technical progress and the expanding needs of society.

When we talk about labor productivity, the issue is in practice, but also in planning, almost always raised solely in terms of quantities. This is a damaging bias which has taken root in our economic thinking and practice. Social productivity increases when the volume of production rises, but also when quality improves. More effective expenditure secures higher productivity, but savings in social labor and more effective capital investments also attain the same objective.

In essence, the inadequate effectiveness in fruit growing and stockraising, in the state agricultural sector, in coal or ferro-nickel mining, the 20 million leks excess expenditure in the last 3 years, and the continuing losses in dozens of products and services that can be seen in your area are an expression of low social productivity. When the land, crops, and livestock do not yield their full potential, when production plans are not fulfilled and the recoupment periods of investments are endlessly extended, it is natural that one should be faced with problems and low profitability. This has very grave consequences.

After talking about some main tasks in improving labor productivity, Comrade Ramiz continued:

The eighth plenum demanded that party bodies should not stand aside from economic methods and levers, but should seek economic accountability, encourage people's legitimate interests, and seriously appraise the interest of the group in every economic enterprise and agricultural cooperative. There can be no effective political work or rational economic management without carefully following the thread of relations between the state and the cooperative and between distribution and people's demands, and the concrete ties that balance and harmonize their interests.

The party must struggle to ensure that science assumes its proper importance in production today. In many ways, the level of scientific knowledge and its application in life has become a ceiling for the development of productive forces. The party's work to apply scientific knowledge must therefore be professional and dynamic. This work should be a constant preoccupation of the activity of state and economic bodies and the many research organizations that we have created.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz said:

The dynamism of our life demands that all communists, basic organizations, and party management bodies should be heralds of progress and revolutionary initiators stimulating the energies of the working masses. I express the conviction that, by acting on these basic guidelines of the eighth Central Committee plenum and drawing lessons from the analyses performed at this conference, the communists and all the working people of Pogradec District will move into the front ranks of the fighters for the country's economic and social progress, for improving the people's prosperity, and strengthening the position of socialism in Albania.

Long live the AWP!

Long live the people of Pogradec District!

Forward to new victories!

ATA Report on Alia Speech

AU0711100089 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 7 Nov 89

[Text] Tirana, November 7 (ATA)—On November 5 the people of Pogradec District received with enthusiasm the first secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Ramiz Alia, who went there to attend the proceedings of the 25th Party Conference of the district.

The leader warmly greets the people, cordially shakes hands with inhabitants, men and women, veterans, youngsters and pioneers of Enver. Amidst this atmosphere, Comrade Ramiz Alia is welcomed with ovations by the delegates.

Attending the conference was also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and first secretary of the Korce District Party Committee, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava.

The report read out by the first secretary of the District Party Committee, Belul Lufo, and the delegates' contributions from various fronts of the economy and culture brought to the fore the achievements by the working people and cooperativists of this district in implementation of the decisions of the 9th Congress of the party and of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings.

The delegates brought to the conference the enthusiasm and the inspiration the decisions of the 8th plenum of the CC [Central Committee] of the party and Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions in his speech delivered at this plenum and during his visits in the districts of Tropoje and Puke have aroused among the communists and the whole working masses.

Amidst the enthusiasm of those present the floor was taken by Comrade Ramiz Alia.

After greeting the delegates in the name of the party Central Committee and wishing successful work to the conference, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out the sound atmosphere prevailing in our country on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. This atmosphere, he pointed out, is further enlivened by the decisions of the 8th plenum and the new elections to the party.

Pogradec, he pointed out further on, is a renowned city in our country not only for the natural beautifuls, for the lake and so picturesque spots, but also for the hospitable people, industrious and with nice artistic tastes. Your district claims distinction for dynamic developments in all the fields: in industry and transport, in agriculture and in public services, the development of tourism and the cultural life. The level of the material well-being of the working people is in a satisfactory level.

Further on speaking of the economic social achievements, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

In these last 4 years, your district realised and overfulfilled the tasks in industry especially in coal and iron-nickel extraction. This is of importance for all the country's economy, because regarding this mass products Pogradec keeps a considerable weight on national scale. Nearly half of the iron nickel and about one-fifth of the coal of the country is extracted in this district. Through its work the working class of Pogradec puts into circulation averagely underground assets of 1 million tons, equal with one-eighth of all the quantity of solid minerals on national scale.

This year, like the entire country, Comrade Ramiz Alia underlined, you have had achievements in agriculture. Experience shows that when forces are mobilised and the factors that are linked with the utilisation of the ground and the increase of plants and livestock are harmonised, the effectivity of the social work, of expenditure and investments in agriculture increases.

Through creative planning, practical, swift, and systematic actions, let us respond to the situations created, let us increase the possibilities of the society to have a greater consumption and consolidate its potential for new developments.

In continuation, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that the strengthening of the party's work and the increase of the masses' role in all the country's life is directly linked with the promotion of the socialist democracy. The life has made us conscious that the spirit of initiative of the working people and the force of their control are decisive factors for the good running of the affairs and the development of socialism.

Further on he underlined that on the course of strengthening the educational work and the promotion of socialist democracy serves also the demand of the 8th plenum to augment the productivity of social work. A higher productivity reflects both the dynamism of the development of the productive forces and the motive force of the economic relations. Our society should further elevate the level of the labour productivity in the future, but it needs more productivity even today.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said: The dynamism of our life demands that the communists, the grassroots organisations and the leading forums of the party be always carriers of progress, revolutionary initiators and stimulators of the working masses' impulse. I express the belief that, putting into life these fundamental orientations of the 8th plenum of the Central Committee and drawing lessons from the analyses made in this conference, the communists and the whole working people of Pogradec District will come out on the front line of the fighters for the economic and social progress of the country, for the uplift of the people's well-being and the strengthening of the positions of socialism in Albania.

Comrade Ramiz Alia's speech was followed with attention and was received with great interest.

At the end, the leading organs of the party in the district were elected. Belul Lufo was reelected first secretary of the District Party Committee.

Economic Progress Report for 12-18 Nov

AU1911143589

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 12-18 November carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of transmission in parentheses):

Berat District: The food processing industrial sector exceeded its production plan by 4.5 million leks. (1900 GMT 16 Nov 89)

Durres District: The overall industrial production plan up to 15 November was exceeded by 37 million leks. (1900 GMT 17 Nov 89)

Korce District: The general industrial plan up to 15 November was exceeded by 3.2 million leks. (1900 GMT 17 Nov 89)

Kukes District: The general industrial plan up to 10 November was overfulfilled by 2 percent. (1900 GMT 12 Nov 89)

Permet District: The industrial production plan up tp 15 November was fulfilled by 106.4 percent and the export plan by 101 percent. (1900 GMT 16 Nov 89)

Mladenov Comments on Leadership Change

AU2111083889 Sofia BTA in English
2101 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—"The BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] has embarked on a new course in its development and in the country's development. We are getting mass, spontaneous and enthusiastic support from the Bulgarian people. Most of our people firmly back restructuring in Bulgaria. People ask me what is the guarantee that this policy line will succeed. The guarantee is the Bulgarian people who support this policy line," said Mr Petur Mladenov, addressing today workers at the Sredets plant.

This is one of the oldest mechanical engineering enterprises in Sofia. Most of the ICE [internal combustion engine] trucks manufactured at the 1,800-employee Balkancar subsidiary go for export.

The workers had a lot of problems to share with the secretary general, ranging from the shortage of overalls and the bad working conditions to the inadequate training of the young and the need to cut the unjustifiably large office staff.

Openly and frankly, the people spoke about the obstacles to better work: the problems arising from contracts and deliveries, the hitches coming from the bureaucratic machinery. "This is the first time that we have had such a meeting: Everybody spoke freely and a lot of truths were said," two of the workers commented.

Seeing a poster which read: "Our Workers' Say Is : Democracy, Openness and Social Justice," Mr Petur Mladenov said, "this is exactly what we need: democracy, openness and justice."

Asked about Mr Todor Zhivkov's replacement and the role of the army, the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Treaty, Mr Petur Mladenov had the following to say: "There was no special trip to Moscow, nor has there been any special meeting with the minister of defense, nor an interference by the army was contemplated, nothing of the sort. Everything that happened was within the framework of the BCP rules. There was a number of pressing major problems that had to be solved. At the last Politburo meeting attended by Todor Zhivkov he, himself, arrived at the conclusion that he had to resign. On the next day he handed in his resignation at the plenum and the plenum, as you know, put it to the vote. This is the truth: Everything was done democratically. Can you imagine that we should be proclaiming pure democracy in Bulgaria and would be doing anything of the kind to take over in this way. This is out of the question. This is impossible."

"This is my first meeting with workers after I assumed the responsibilities of Central Committee secretary general by decision of the party's Central Committee. This is my first meeting with working people after the latest National Assembly session at which, on assignment of the National Assembly, I had to assume the post of a State Council president as well.

"I believe that in the ten days since the holding of the November plenum, the events which happened in Bulgaria could fill entire months, if not years, with their scope and dynamism. We are embarking on a new road. The party has embarked on a new course in its development and in the development of the country. The most characteristic feature of those ten days has been the mass, spontaneous and enthusiastic support which we have been getting from the whole Bulgarian people.

"True, not everybody is supporting us in equal measure and in the same way. There are people who still doubt it, and others have adopted a wait-and-see approach. What I mean when I say mass support, however, is that the overwhelming majority of our people, which is more than 95 per cent, firmly back the processes of restructuring in Bulgaria.

"There are a lot of problems to solve. I would be a dishonest demagogue if I say that we'll solve them at one blow, that we'll solve them quickly and easily. A lot of contradictions have built up in our society, and the economy, our social development, political relations and other spheres are beset by many open problems. I would like to tell you, however, that we are firmly resolved to start and we have already started solving them. Can we solve them on our own? We can't. We can't solve them on our own neither at the Politburo nor at the Central Committee nor in the party. We can only solve these difficult problems with the full-fledged participation of the people.

"You said that you support the present policy line, and I thank you on behalf of the Central Committee for your support. Let me tell you, however, that your support and the support of the entire people will find expression in what you are doing, in what everyone of us is doing at his or her workplace.

"I think that your workforce can do a lot for restructuring in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. I call on you and on all other Bulgarian citizens: Let us work to build a new, democratic, humane, human, humanitarian and just socialist Bulgaria. Everything is in the hands of the people. We must do everything together with the people and in the name of the people," Mr Petur Mladenov said.

Politburo Assesses 'New Political Situation'

AU2011195689 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] At today's meeting, the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee discussed the situation within the country as a result of the 16 November BCP Central Committee Plenum and following the National Assembly session.

The analysis of the Politburo showed that the decisions adopted by the Central Committee and by parliament are welcomed with approval by the broad masses in all strata of our society. The nationwide support for the radical changes carried out and for the first practical steps following them was pointed out.

All this shows that a new political situation is emerging in the country. This nationwide support is evaluated as a decisive prerequisite for the intensification and further dynamic acceleration of the restructuring process, for the renewal of society in accordance with the Bulgarian people's decision to select the path of socialism.

It was stressed, along with this, that the solution of difficult problems facing the country at the present stage requires the mobilization of common efforts and the participation of the entire people. The responsibility of communists and party organizations is particularly great in this respect. They are expected to act with energy and initiative to overcome everything that obstructs the processes of renewal and the people's peaceful, creative efforts.

It was pointed out that the territorial settlements, the social organizations, and movements are playing an important role in starting an extensive and frank dialogue with the people on the major crucial problems, for a timely and just solution of existing issues.

The Politburo thinks that numerous postulates launched at the two rallies held in the capital and dealing with democratization and with the solution of existing problems represent an objective foundation for further dialogue with the people, for rallying our society in the name of the renewal of socialism.

It was pointed out along with this that certain extremist trends emerging over the last 3 days are likely to make the restructuring process more difficult. The efforts to take advantage of public events, to use television and other mass media for extreme demands that are in contradiction with our constitutional order, with the basic values and principles of socialism, should not remain without an appropriate political reaction. In addition to this, however, there should be no question of a relapse into the past, of returning to the corrupt methods and means that were rejected by the BCP Central Committee November plenums.

The scope and nature of the problems awaiting solutions require stability, calm, respect for national vital interests. We absolutely need the observance of civilized norms of dialogue, culture, ethics, and a sense of responsibility in political discussion and debates.

The main thing today is to create an atmosphere of conscious discipline and a strict organization, required in all places. The working people, the intelligentsia, and all strata of our people are increasingly becoming convinced that the real support for restructuring above all means work and deeds, instead of declarations and slogans.

The Politburo mapped out specific measures for the implementation of the BCP Central Committee November plenums and for discussing the numerous problems raised by the party members and the citizens. Particular attention should be devoted to the discussion and solution of certain urgent issues, connected with the (?distortions) in economic and social life that were allowed to occur.

For this purpose it is considered necessary to establish a special party and state commission. It was recommended to the Council of Ministers as soon as possible to review the implementation of production plans and the state of the domestic market and to adopt active measures to improve the situation in this sphere.

Council of Ministers Discusses Economy

AU2011204889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] A meeting of the renewed Council of Ministers took place today. On the basis of the decisions adopted by the National Assembly Session held on 17 November, the meeting discussed the most urgent problems in the country's economic development for the period up to the end of 1989.

The Council of Ministers discussed and adopted a new organization of work in preparing the 1990 plan. The government adopted a decision for implementing an active dialogue between the Ministry of Economy and Planning, the Ministry of Finance, and the Ministry of Industry and Technologies, on the one hand, and the companies and organizations, on the other hand, in order to prepare realistic and interconnected plans for 1990.

It is envisaged that the associations should actively participate and contribute to the work in compiling the plan. At this meeting our government accomplished a first step toward the consolidation of a new meaning and style of work in the spirit of the political line aimed at consistent democratization in all spheres of socialist society in our country.

On the occasion of today's meeting, Kiril Zarev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of the economy and planning, declared as follows to representatives of the BTA News Agency and of the Bulgarian Television:

The 1990 budget and plan will be submitted to the approval of the supreme organs following the forthcoming BCP Central Committee Plenum at which the state of the economy is expected to be thoroughly analyzed and a practical working program for the new economic development is expected to be adopted. The plans of the companies and other organizations should be submitted and coordinated by the state planning organs. We are expecting a dialogue with companies and organizations for which they should seriously prepare themselves.

In working on the plans of economic organizations, in compiling the state plan and budget priority should be given to questions related to the improvement of the domestic market, and above all to the supply of urgently necessary goods. We should create prerequisites for consolidating the finances of the country, and the state budget in the first place.

It is necessary to promote the line of active participation in international markets, and of stabilizing our payment balances. No changes in prices are envisaged for the forthcoming years. On behalf of the Council of Ministers, I would especially like to address the economic managers, urging them to devote their energetic efforts toward implementing the profound changes that are awaiting us, Kiril Zarev said.

Editorial Hails National Assembly's New Role

AU2011162689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Nov 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Parliament Revives Itself—To Create and Not Merely Vote!"]

[Text] Our parliament is undergoing a test in socialist democracy before the Bulgarian people's eyes. This was also confirmed by the great interest in and unprecedented response to the 11th session.

All those who followed its work or were acquainted with it were able to convince themselves that the vocation of the National Assembly is to be the conscience of the nation. After the two November plenums of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], which marked a turning point in restructuring, that session showed that the sovereignty of the Bulgarian Parliament is being restored. Conditions are being created so that it may again operate in the spirit of its best patriotic traditions. The times require the National Assembly to assume a much greater responsibility in constructing socialist Bulgaria.

How much freedom there was in the debates! The boredom and unswerving adherence to predetermined scenarios were cast off. There were no prescribed speakers and topics for the speeches. Glasnost and pluralism of thought freely resounded. The released creative energy of the people's representatives has yet to develop into sharp and constructive disputes, and yet to be channeled toward seeking and finding the best ways of resolving the complex issues posed by our country's development. Only in this way can we restore the lost faith of the voters, who had begun to doubt the fact that the supreme organ of government must have worthy, energetic, and militant members, for whom the people's interests stand above all else, and whose lofty goals are directed toward the people's prosperity.

This session will go down in the history of our parliamentary life with the election of the new chairman of the State Council and the structural and personnel changes in the government that were adopted, as well as the laws that were adopted, the purpose of which is facilitate the democratization of society and guarantee the citizens' freedom and rights. Yes, even these initial steps show that our parliament strives toward holding ever more securely and confidently the heavy and hallowed helm of people's government in its hands.

The session clearly outlined the National Assembly's place, role, and main tasks. Its future activity in the areas of legislation and legislative practice must be strengthened. Parliamentary control must be reorganized to a high standard. It is within the possibilities of the parliament to assert itself in a permanent and categorical manner as a powerful democratic people's alternative to all forms of bureaucratic deformations. Therefore, the Bulgarian people expect their parliament to meet the requirements of the present watershed period and make an essential contribution to creating a democratic all-state mechanism with whose assistance society will implement its choice—the construction of a modern, contemporary, humane, and law-governed democratic and socialist state.

We received hundreds of telephone calls in one single day. The readers were excited. They wanted to comment and talk about everything that took place at the session. As you know, for the first time the parliamentary debates were carried in full and directly by Bulgarian radio and television, in other words, they directly entered every home. Obviously, the statements of Slavcho Trunski, Blagovest Sendov, and many other people's representatives strongly interested many readers, who have proposed that the texts of these speeches be published in full. Because of the limited space in the newspaper, it is impossible to publish verbatim the shorthand text of the session's debates.

The most important fact is that our parliament is reviving!

Mladenov's National Assembly Address

AU1711131789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1058 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Acceptance speech by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee, to the 17 November National Assembly session in Sofia, on his election as chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria—live]

[Text] Esteemed comrade people's deputies:

First of all, I would like to express my profound gratitude to you for electing me State Council chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. I am very well aware that this means your supreme organ of state—in these difficult times—casts its vote of confidence in the policy of restructuring and renewal marked at the [10] November Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee plenum. I assure you that I will do everything within my powers to ensure the success of this rescue policy to ensure the prosperity of our beloved native land.

Comrades, our society is on the threshold of a qualitatively new stage in its development. Daily, and even hourly, the total face of the country is changing. The command-bureaucratic system structures are being shaken. The disintegration of the administrative props of yesterday is beginning. The fresh air of change has forced its way into the political atmosphere.

Our citizens are becoming the center of attention to an increasing extent. The human individual is coming to the fore, as a creator of wealth and a carrier of values.

If you allow me, comrades, briefly I will only speak on one issue, the issue of the place, role, and work of our National Assembly. The meaning of concepts such as democracy and the law-governed state is being best felt in the Parliament. Parliament, and not some other institution, is the (?synonym), it is a symbol that objectively defines the people's power in every contemporary civilized state. Therefore, if a parliament is deprived of its age-old functions, it is transformed, so to speak, into a talking shop, or, even worse, into a facade for the people's power. In such a situation, it would be impossible to describe this as other than an insult to the entire nation. Unfortunately, for many years our Bulgarian parliament was debased to the position of a passive element by the state machine, without the right to creative work, without the right to make real decisions.

I will state plainly that this is the most drastic deformation, one of the greatest sins, which our people and society will certainly never forgive. All efforts must be directed to this end: This deformation must be eliminated once and for all.

Life demands that the National Assembly should be renewed in the literal sense of the word, in the spirit of its best diligent and democratic traditions, in order to assume its responsibility as a builder of the new socialist Bulgaria.

Without a minute of delay, in my view, parliament should restructure its overall activity so as to be in a position, in the expected complex and difficult period, to ensure hope for guaranteeing the development of society, with all the economic interests, rights, and liberties of Bulgarian citizens. It should be expected that it should establish basic directions for the country's foreign and domestic policy of a kind that will ensure stability, guarantee security and cooperation in the international sphere, and ensure the national unity of our people.

I will not dwell here on all the aspects of the National Assembly's activity during renewal, because it is neither possible nor necessary at the present time. I will only recall certain elements that are especially topical for the present time.

An important stage in the restructuring of our parliament should be the renewal of legislative practice. Here I have in mind the necessity for the National Assembly to take part most directly, showing initiative and competence, in the drawing up of the laws (?for adoption). The discussion of new, major draft laws lies ahead, a discussion concerning the economic mechanism, property, social relations, and the establishment of democratic institutions. The people's deputies will be expected to develop a real statesmanlike discussion, in order that really optimum alternatives be found. It would not be possible otherwise, and indeed it should not be so. It is impossible for it to be so. Parliament must really create the basic norms, and not vote in a mechanical way.

If the National Assembly deputy, who should most closely sense the pulse of the people's life, displays indifference, and fails to struggle personally to ensure that every law is as close as possible to the needs of people and society, then this law will not achieve its aim. This law will not help further advances, it will be a retarding force, rather than providing a stimulus.

The National Assembly has the holy obligation to monitor the implementation of the laws and other decisions adopted by it. This means the rule of order and justice in the state. An active tool in this respect is the regular discussion of the work of the government and its various departments. In the National Assembly we must exercise beneficial control over the work of the executive organs, advise, encourage, and, if necessary, warn and punish them.

Perhaps we may ask ourselves: How many times so far has there been a vote of no confidence in a minister or other person? It is precisely the evaluation of the National Assembly, its instruction, and guidance that are the most important and authoritative for the activity of all units of the state system and for all state officials.

We know that we are living in a complex time, we are encountering obstacles, old habits, and completely real forces in society, closely connected with the compromised administrative-command system, and they long to preserve their privileged position. It is my profound conviction that the reborn parliament will be able to block the way for impure ambitions and eliminate bureaucratic distortions and all kinds of illegal actions within the framework of the state mechanism.

There is no one who will grant greater powers to parliament than those given to it through the Constitution and by the people. Under conditions of socialist democracy, these rights and prerogatives should be filled with even richer content, and expand in a natural way the scope of their application.

It is precisely through our socialist parliament that we logically should also implement direct representative democracy, the direct link of state power with the people. As the highest emanation of popular self-management, parliament may and must play out to the end, in the conditions of renewal, the role of a powerful, democratic, and popular alternative to the old bureaucratic state-apparatus, whose ghost will inevitably—I repeat, inevitably—disturb our thoughts, and actions at least in the near future.

Here I would like to touch upon another issue, which perhaps relates more to the sphere of psychology and thought and possibly to ethics and culture, but which is far from unimportant from the viewpoint of the tasks of restructuring. For it is impossible to realize restructuring either here or on a national scale solely by political and organizational measures. Restructuring, in addition to everything else, poses a profound internal issue for every public and political figure, namely whether we will succeed in eliminating the stereotype of the paper-pushing functionary existing in each one of us.

The success of the cause of renewal depends on whether we shall be able to create a combat mentality, responsibility, and (?unity) in the name of lofty goals. I mean that the people's representative becomes a people's representative in the real meaning of this concept. He must overcome the inertia, face the problems in a professional manner, and without any hesitation defend the people's rights and interests, according to his duty and patriotic convictions.

We realize very well under what conditions the National Assembly used to work until now. We clearly understand the difficulties it will encounter along the road of restructuring its work. The deputies inevitably will clash with old approaches and attempt to interfere in the parliamentary process or influence it in other ways. In this respect, your fate, and indeed mine, as people's representative, comrades, will not be much different from the fate of our entire society, marching along the road of fundamental restructuring. Our party and all people have made a strong start along this road. The BCP Central Committee Plenum decisions of 10 and 16 November, as well as the massive public support of those decisions on the part of our ally, the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the Fatherland Front, the Komsomol, the women's organization, and all our people, is brilliant and clear proof of this. There can be no doubt that by strengthening the processes of renewal, further effecting a precise separation of the functions of the party and the state, and increasing the flexibility and dynamics of the entire social and state infrastructure, the National Assembly will ever more firmly and confidently hold in its hands the heavy helm of state power.

The parliament is yet to seek innovative solutions. It will increase its experience, political and legal culture, and adopt practical measures for the country's progress. Those measures will enjoy the support of the entire nation.

The Bulgarian people expect from their parliament that it be up to requirements of our crucial period, and that it makes a decisive contribution to creating a democratic all-state mechanism. It is with the assistance of this mechanism that society will put its choice into effect, namely, the construction of a contemporary, modern, human, law-governed, and socialist state.

Thank you very much. [applause]

Leading Dissident Remarks on Changes

AU2011160389 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 16 Nov 89 p 6

[Report on interview with Professor Petur Beron, one of the cofounders of the Bulgarian Ecoglasnost movement, by Krzysztof Walczak: "We Hold Other Views"—date and place not given]

[Text] In the Sofia Eco-Forum International Conference on the Protection of the Environment, the continuous topic of the day for 3 weeks was the activity of the Bulgarian independent movement Ecoglasnost and the way the police brutally suppressed a demonstration organized by this organization and even threatened the further continuation of the international conference.

One of the members of the Bulgarian delegation in Sofia was Professor Petur Beron, one of the co-founders and leading activists of Ecoglasnost. The 49-year-old Professor Beron is a zoologist, works at the National Museum of Natural History, and is a member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. I spoke with him after the incident with Ecoglasnost, after some leading activists of the movement had been set free, and after the declaration made by Bulgaria at the conference that "this will not happen again," but before Todor Zhivkov's departure. Several days later, the name of Professor Beron and his short speech on the protection of the environment appeared for the first time in the Bulgarian press. The name Ecoglasnost is not an officially recognized name.

[Walczak] Professor, let us begin by introducing Ecoglasnost.

[Beron] At the moment our ecological movement is still very small. We have about 200-300 registered members and thousands of sympathizers. We are not striving to become a mass movement, and at the moment this is not possible. We formed ourselves last February, and we applied to the courts for registration in April, however, this was refused, and the reason given was that we did not have any "organ of control."

[Walczak] Do the authorities fear that if they register your organization they will thus be creating a precedent, and open up the floodgates for other independent organizations?

[Beron] I would go even further. Our authorities simply do not want to have anything to do with independent organizations. However, the registration, or nonregistration of Ecoglasnost will not make it an organization that is any more or less legal. The Bulgarian Constitution of 1952 gives Bulgarians the right to form associations, except organizations with open fascist aims. Thus, according to the Constitution, Ecoglasnost is fully legal, although not registered for the time being. Therefore it is without legal status, without a seal, registered address, and legally it is unable to establish contact with any other organizations.

[Walczak] Is Ecoglasnost a political opposition in Bulgaria?

[Beron] This is not the case. As yet, we have not put forward clear political aims and programs, which should not be taken to mean that we do not have any opinion of the Bulgarian authorities. We believe that one cannot separate the ecological problem from the problem of the whole system of authority, from the general situation of the country. I do not mean the political system, so much as the general policy in concrete matters. Everyone—those who are linked to the political opposition, and those who are basically apolitical—is agreed that something has to be changed in our country. Should we go the Polish way, the Russian way, or the Hungarian way? This is not as simple as it may appear. Bulgaria has its own special conditions, a different culture, a different history and a different relationship to church and state. A change of authority and in the way that the national wealth is administered is absolutely essential in Bulgaria.

[Walczak] What specific changes are you referring to?

[Beron] My own personal view—leaving our organization aside—is that at the root of the problem lies the monopoly of the party. My feeling is that the party should change into just one of many political groupings. It should function next to other organizations which may have a different concept of Bulgaria's future. It is a question of political competition between different forces, like in Poland, or Hungary at the moment—leaving aside the West.

[Walczak] You have mentioned democracy....

[Beron] I think that in Bulgaria we should have political pluralism. Each group puts forward its program, and then society decides, by way of elections, who is to have the rudder of government. This, in my opinion, is correct. However, the document that has been prepared for the coming party plenum contains nothing on this, and carries no hope that the monopoly of the party will be changed. The pluralism that Todor Zhivkov speaks about has nothing to do with real pluralism. Organizations that have been under the control of the communist party will still be under the party's control. There is no point talking about pluralism when there is no freedom of action by independent organizations and alternative movements.

[Walczak] I got the impression that the echo of Ecoglasnost in Bulgarian society is not very strong, despite the fact that 12,000 signatures were collected on the petition to go to the Bulgarian parliament on the controversial hydroelectric building program on the Mesta river and the Rila mountains.

[Beron] The people have simply not heard about us. We have no means to popularize ourselves, and access to radio and television remains barred to us. The only thing we could do was to stick up posters. The police immediately tore them down and several Ecoglasnost leaders were kept under arrest for several hours. I have no idea why they should have reacted like they did, because our posters only called for the protection of the environment.

[Walczak] Who are Ecoglasnost's members?

[Beron] They come from all social and professional circles, from the intelligentsia to the engineering-technical cadres, from the workers to students, and school children. We believe that this really does give us the right to speak out on behalf of society. This is what differentiates us from the Glasnost and Perestroyka Discussion Club, which is completely dominated by the intelligentsia most of which comes from the Academy of Sciences.

[Walczak] Some 2 years ago, the authorities dissolved the ecological club in Ruse, a city that was polluted by chemicals from the Romanian side of the Danube. What has happened to the leaders of that club? Have they ceased their activity?

[Beron] No, they came over to us. Ecoglasnost can be considered to be the continuation of the Ruse movement. The aims are the same—the defense of man from ecological threats—but now we are active on the national scale. Most of the leaders of that club were thrown out of the Central Committee of the party—among others, Petur Slabakov, Rusev, the chairman of the writers union, Sonya Bakish, who had been party member for 40 years, Khristo Melanov, whose grandfather and father were active members of the resistance. Most of our members are well-known figures who have a high position in the social hierarchy. We are not an antistate, or antiparty organization. We feel that Bulgaria cannot remain outside the general trend of development of European countries. Society's task is to control the authorities, the government, and the industrial interests. In the sphere of ecology, it is a matter of control and security measures during the building, as well as during the planning and design stage, of the large industrial projects. There have to be independent estimates and independent expert opinions. At the present, nobody in Bulgaria respects these, and the voice of independent ecologists is ignored.

[Walczak] Is it possible that all this will change? It is notable that you were chosen to be a member of the Bulgarian delegation to this ecological conference of the 35 states who signed the Final Act of the CSCE. Is this mere chance, or is there some reason behind it?

[Beron] As a zoologist, I was only one of the group of experts for ecological matters, and I was not in the official Bulgarian delegation which consisted of 12 highly placed politicians in Bulgaria. When I was offered the chance to participate in the Eco-Forum, I stated that I was a member of Ecoglasnost. The answer I received was that "this did not matter." Some members of the delegation were, however, clearly shocked by the fact that Ecoglasnost was creating such a stir about my activity. They do not understand that in any normal country this would be quite normal, and they are still not prepared for such things. They simply cannot accept that one can have differing opinions. Nevertheless, whether Ecoglasnost is registered or not, we shall continue in our activity, even in the most difficult circumstances.

Ecoglasnost Leader Comments on Zhivkov Fall

PM2011154289 Paris LIBERATION in French 13 Nov 89 p 32

[Interview with Bulgarian Ecoglasnost leadership member Dimitrina Petrova by Veronique Soule in Sofia on 12 November]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

LIBERATION: Were you surprised by Todor Zhivkov's fall or were there signs which led you to expect that departure?

Dimitrina Petrova: I was not very surprised. It was to be expected to some extent. At each Central Committee plenum, Todor Zhivkov reshuffled his team and replaced some people by others. That worked well for a time; it must be said that Zhivkov was a past master at that rotation system. But that practice became customary and a general feeling of insecurity gradually spread through the apparatus. All its members were worried that they might lose their positions in future. It was therefore possible to expect a reaction from the apparatus to curb this process.

You asked me whether there were signs heralding the weakening of Zhivkov's position; there were rumors in Sofia around 20-25 October that Zhivkov had suggested at a Politburo meeting that his son should enter the Politburo. He apparently encountered strong opposition and abandoned the proposal. If that is true, it means that Zhivkov had strained the limits of tolerance among Politburo members. If these rumors are untrue, it is equally symptomatic. It would mean that somebody stood to gain from spreading such rumors damaging Zhivkov's image.

LIBERATION: How do you view Petur Mladenov, the new general secretary?

Dimitrina Petrova: I do not think that he is very well integrated into the Communist Party apparatus; he seems to be an outsider, or rather a mediator, the result of a compromise between various conflicting interests in the apparatus. His appointment as party leader is apparently the result of a compromise between the advocates of Gorbachev-style reforms and the conservatives, who are only interested in maintaining the status quo.

LIBERATION: Could Mladenov be a transitional figure?

Dimitrina Petrova: It is very difficult to decide now. His connections within the apparatus seem fragile. If he succeeds in winning over some of the intellectuals and workers, if we believe in his reforms, he could increase his power and remain in place. At all events, he will have to seek support outside the party—a degree of popular support.

LIBERATION: What is the current attitude of intellectuals and oppositionists toward Mladenov?

Dimitrina Petrova: Listen, Bulgarian intellectuals have been skeptical for many years; it has become a traditional characteristic. It is now difficult to be euphoric or enthusiastic. At the same time, we are prepared to support the slightest step toward reforms. There is even a degree of optimism, because we think that Mladenov will need reforms to consolidate his power. But, for the time being, everybody is waiting and watching with definite goodwill.

LIBERATION: What impact did events in the GDR have on the situation in Bulgaria?

Dimitrina Petrova: I have just heard numerous commentaries by Western observers according to whom the situation in the GDR greatly speeded up developments in Bulgaria. There is no doubt about that, but its impact should not be exaggerated. The upheavals in the GDR alone are not enough to explain Zhivkov's fall. Our internal political and economic situation must also be taken into account. In my view, Ecoforum (the CSCE meeting on ecology which ended in Sofia on 3 November—LIBERATION editor's note) was at least as important as the GDR factor. Zhivkov failed to present a good image and even tarnished his image greatly by violating the Vienna agreements signed by Sofia, notably by repressing independent groups, particularly Ecoglasnost, right in the middle of the Ecoforum meeting.

LIBERATION: What role did the new independent groups play?

Dimitrina Petrova: We can say that they played a decisive role in Zhivkov's fall. But it was an indirect role. We in Ecoglasnost naturally did not influence the Politburo's decisions; our influence lies more in the general awareness which we aroused, in the change of atmosphere and public opinion here, and in the interest shown in us by foreign countries, diplomats, journalists, and so forth. The government could not disregard it.

LIBERATION: What strategy will Ecoglasnost and the independent movements in general follow?

Dimitrina Petrova: We intend to press for changes, for free elections, for the introduction of legal and constitutional guarantees, for respect for freedom and human rights, for changes in the political structure to end the party's monopoly, and for political pluralism without which it is impossible to imagine a radical democracy.

LIBERATION: Are you optimistic about the future?

Dimitrina Petrova: I feel better than I did a few days ago but optimistic is a big word. Changes will come, but they will come through our efforts, our hands, our brains.... We, the independent movements, will how have to work hard; we will not sit back and watch the current process from outside. We are therefore neither happy nor enthusiastic; our task has just been made even more difficult because things now depend on us more than ever.

Lags in Radio, TV Developments Surveyed

AU1411173789 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
13 Nov 89 p 1,2

[Dimitur Statkov report: "What's New in the Ether?"]

[Text] From ultra-high-frequency [UHF] radio programs to teletext, cable and satellite television, it is all a matter of equipment. However, who will produce this equipment, when, and at what price, in order to make the Bulgarian citizen more "emancipated" from the information viewpoint, is another big question, and one that still awaits an answer. Dimo Dichev, general director of the "Radio and Television" Economic Combine, and Tsancho Tsanev, deputy chairman of the "Communications" Association, are both unanimous in stating that our industry has not yet responded to the question of providing the necessary equipment for the various programs, nor has it reacted to initiatives in the field of radio and television broadcasting. Better relay stations are needed in greater numbers to improve the transmission of signals through the ether. The equipment in use at the moment is comparatively modern, but it is insufficient to permit a noticeable expansion of the range of services to the population and the national economy. At the beginning of October a frequency reference signal came into operation for synchronizing various systems used in metrology, the energy industry, and so on, in which the concept of "the exact time" is outside everyday experience. A second UHF network is under development for radio transmissions in the 88-108 MegaHertz band. Plans are in existence for wider use of UHF radio links to inform of natural disasters, for emergency medical services, and so on, and some 400 such installations are already in operation. In addition to the meteorological services, this program will be especially useful for giving information on the situation on the country's roads. The building of its infrastructure is quite advanced, but the production of the specialized equipment is lagging greatly behind. Equipment to a total value of about 300 million leva will be needed to completely set up this mobile UHF system.

The program for the digital-analog dissemination of information has been frozen for more than 5 years already because of production problems and certain limitations. Yet time waits for no one. At the moment, a real war is in progress between the big producers and radio and television companies to impose a single world standard for the new generation of high-resolution television. It is envisaged that this standard will be adopted by 1993-95. It appears that we will wait for this date with the timorous hope that we will, nevertheless respond to world technical trends. We are also still waiting for systems for cable and satellite television to be produced. Wishes and ideas exist in plenty, nor is there any lack of promises on the part of the potential producers in Bulgaria. However, as long as the "Communications" Association continues to make all kinds of attempts to "awake the spirits"—by providing standards, investigating world achievements, and consulting individual Bulgarian producers, we will evidently content ourselves merely with commenting on foreign experience or simply consuming this experience in the form of video clips. One progressive step has already been made. The "Communications" Association has established contact with EUTELSAT, the international organization for broadcasting satellite television programs, and awaits offers from the relevant television companies for receiving satellite programs. However, is the question of what the Bulgarian viewer is to receive them with to remain open?

Another burning problem will be resolved if the market shows the necessary "indulgence." The forest of television antennas on the roofs of houses will give way to cable television to the home, able to transmit up to 20 different stations. However, the cables produced by us at present fall far behind world standards and place the very idea in doubt. This explains the high degree of interest shown in the experiment on introducing cable television in Kazanluk. The fate of the proposed communal television antennas is well-known. In Sofia alone, 12,000 of the 13,000 such antennas were stolen or destroyed because of bad management before they were accepted on the buildings by the owners....

Indeed, wishes and promises are not enough to enable us to obtain full benefit from one of the "wonders" of our age.

Shevardnadze Supports New Bulgarian Policy

AU1811162989 Sofia BTA in English 2336 GMT
17 Nov 89

[Text] Moscow, November 17 (BTA correspondent)—Addressing an enlarged meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet's Committee on International Affairs here today, Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, said among other things, "serious changes have been made in Bulgaria over the last few days. The entire political leadership in Bulgaria was practically replaced and we know that the new leaders have some very interesting ideas about restructuring, about the renewal of socialist society in that country. We actively support this policy line of the new Bulgarian leadership."

Economic Cooperation With USSR Discussed

AU1311205189 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] A meeting of Bulgarian-Soviet enterprises and international associations was held in Sofia, organized by the USSR Embassy in Sofia, the Bulgarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, and the Bulgarian-Soviet Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

The goal of the meeting was to discuss practical measures for improving new forms of cooperation. It was pointed out that the considerable successes achieved within less than 3 years are only a first step in implementing new forms of cooperation and do not yet conform to the wishes and real possibilities of both countries.

It is necessary to adopt joint measures encompassing the trade and political, foreign exchange and financial, and administrative and economic spheres.

In his statement Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, stressed that they should consider how to use the opportunities provided by Bulgarian and Soviet legislation on a national scale. The improvement of the new forms of cooperation should be pursued in accordance with the conditions of the international market and by aspiring to a gradual application of international prices, the convertibility of national currencies, the establishment of a unified socialist market, and the intensified participation of both countries in worldwide integration processes.

Comrade Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, pointed out the requirement to more quickly solve the problems of improving the mechanism of the new forms of cooperation. This mechanism should be mutually interchangeable and should establish prerequisites for an unhindered and stable implementation of economic cooperation since Bulgaria's exchange of goods with the Soviet Union represents about 60 percent of our trade and plays a decisive role in the country's national income.

The two speakers stressed that the Bulgarian Communist Party's November plenum creates favorable prerequisites for the intensification of the restructuring process and for expanding democracy and glasnost in Bulgaria, which coincides with the goals and tasks under way in the Soviet Union. It also creates new incentives for the further development of overall relations between our two countries, including the new forms of economic cooperation.

The representatives of Bulgarian-Soviet enterprises, associations, and organizations who took the floor mainly dwelled on the unresolved problems which are halting the expected development of new forms of cooperation. They submitted specific proposals that will be discussed at the 33d session of the Joint Intergovernmental Bulgarian-Soviet Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, which is opening in Sofia tomorrow.

Session Opens

AU1411210689 Sofia BTA in English
1829 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—Coordination of the plans of Bulgaria and the USSR for the period 1991-1995 is the major topic of the 33rd session of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation which started here today.

The Bulgarian delegation is headed by Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations, while the Soviet delegation by Mr Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the Soviet Union Council of Ministers.

Conviction was expressed that the processes of restructuring underway in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union create favorable opportunities for activation of mutually beneficial economic relations and their improvement with new modern forms.

The preparation is discussed of agreed proposals for restructuring of the mechanism of economic and technoscientific cooperation in compliance with the reforms. Particular attention was lent to the state and prospects of development of direct relations between the two countries' economic units, an important trend for the further activation of economic contacts. In this light was discussed the preparation of new agreements for specialization and cooperation in the sphere of machine building, the chemical industry and forestry, the light industry, etc.

The fulfillment of mutual supplies during this year and the preparation of a protocol for goods exchange and payments for the next year as well as the agenda of the next 34th session of the commission are object of analysis.

Yotov Receives Hungary's Maria Ormos

LD1611035189 Budapest MTI in English
1948 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (MTI)—Maria Ormos, member of the Hungarian Socialist Party Presidium and rector of Janus Pannonius University, Pecs, and Yordan Yotov, member of the Political Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and secretary of the Central Committee, held extremely friendly talks in Sofia on Wednesday [15 November]

The Hungarian politician is visiting the Bulgarian capital at the invitation of the Hungarian Cultural Institute of Sofia.

Ms Ormos told MTI's Sofia correspondent that during her short stay in Bulgaria, and paticularly in the course of her talks with Mr Yotov, she had become convinced that a genuine transformation had been launced in Bulgaria as well.

At the talks, Mr Yotov stressd the importance of liberalizing the economy, and the democratization of society, and of continuing—without delay—the process that was launched at the November 10 session of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee.

Mr Yotov also stressed that transformation in Bulgaria should be carried out amidst the frameworks of socialism.

Lufthansa, Balkan Air Business Contacts Noted

AU2111091389 Sofia BTA in English
0751 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 20 (BTA)—"Bulgaria and the Federal Republic of Germany have very fine opportunities to promote and activate their bilateral cooperation in civil aviation," said Mr Heinz Runhau, chairman of the Executive Board of Deutsche Lufthansa AG, speaking to the press here today.

He pointed out that the two-day dialogue on matters of bilateral concern with Mr Trifon Pashov, minister of transport, with Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations, and with senior executives of the Balkan Bulgarian Airlines Company had been very fruitful.

Agriculture Minister Speaks at FAO Session

AU1511212389 Sofia BTA in English
1901 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Sofia, November 15 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Menov, minister of agriculture and forestry and leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the 25th session of the Conference of the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) today took the floor.

He underlined the role of FAO in helping the countries with the development of their agriculture and the nutrition of their population and supported the proposals for the improvement of the functions and the activity of the organization aimed at the more effective implementation of its programs. Mr Menov pointed out that the financial restrictions arising from non-payment of their membership dues on the part of some states had had an unfavorable impact on FAO's work. He stressed that in the program and the budget of the organization for the next two-year period more attention should be paid to the cooperation among the countries of the European region in the field of research and the protection of environment.

The leader of the Bulgarian delegation backed the proposal to organize a world conference on the problems of nutrition in 1993. He laid a stress on the necessity of FAO's active participation in the discussion of the problems of famine, malnutritition and poverty at a special session of the UN on international economic cooperation.

Mr Menov expressed satisfaction with the cooperation of Bulgaria and FAO, underlining at the same time his country's readiness to extend the joint work in the realization of concrete projects.

'More Than 100,000' Demonstrate in Prague 20 Nov

AU2011160389 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 20 (AFP)—More than 100,000 demonstrators gathered in the centre of the Czechoslovak capital Monday calling for greater freedom, witnesses said. The crowd in Wenceslas Square was also protesting against the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

Authorities, Rights Activists Clash

AU2011163189 Vienna Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Report by Barbara Coudenhove-Kalergi]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] During the past few hours, CSSR authorities have been trying to blame all recent incidents on civil rights activists, who disseminated the news of the alleged death of student Martin Smid during a demonstration on Friday [17 November]. The news about his death was repeatedly denied by Radio Prague. It is certain, however, that the 19-year-old mathematics student was dragged away from the mass of protesters on Friday evening and beaten with rubber truncheons while he was lying on the floor until he was unrecognizable. He was subsequently placed into a police car. Martin Smid's girlfriend later stated that the student's parents were informed of their son's death. [passage omitted]

At present, it is unclear what really happened to Martin Smid. Opposition members have a tape containing statements by a physician and Martin Smid's girlfriend. They wanted to play it to foreign journalists on Sunday [19 November], but this was prevented. Policemen locked the apartment of Charter 77 spokeswoman Dana Nemcova and disconnected her telephone line. This morning, it was not possible to contact any of the most important civil rights activists by telephone. [passage omitted]

200,000 Demonstrate

LD2011195889 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Since this morning, almost all our television crews have been at places where they could gain information to develop a picture of the situation in Prague and elsewhere in our republic. So far they have informed us about the following material:

Today numerous groups of citizens gathered at a number of places in our capital. The topics of discussion were the current internal political development in Czechoslovakia, commentaries on the events over the past weeks, and the stances of students, of theaters in Prague, artists and journalists.

These shots were taken in Wenceslas Square this morning. The number of people has been approximately 2,000. The base of St Wenceslas statue was encircled with flowers and state flags, while people were setting lit candles on it. Many people left after a short while. The assembly passed by quietly, without any disturbing interference.

We have recorded similar gatherings at other places in Prague, for example in Parizska Street.

At around 1600 local time, Wenceslas Square started to fill up and after 1 hour the approximate number of participants was estimated to be over 50,000. Streets leading into these places were filled too. We could again see lit candles, flowers; shouting and slogans could be heard expressing distrust of some leading officials, of the current policy of the CPCZ and of the Czechoslovak Government.

In the upper part of Wenceslas Square members of the Public Security Force maintained order and free traffic flow on the north-south arterial road.

At around 1700 the marchers left for the National Trida. Chanting continuously, they exchanged greetings at the National Theater with actors present there and continued along the embankment to the Red Army Soldiers Square [Namesti Krasnoarmejcu] where they arrived at around 1800. Approximately 60 minutes ago these places were still full of people. According to eyewitness estimates, there are about 200,000 citizens gathered in the streets of Prague. Appeals are being heard to march to the Prague Castle and to other places of our capital.

Unrest in Prague, Other Cities

AU2011171789 Paris AFP in English 1657 GMT 20 Nov 89

[By Bernard Meixner]

[Text] Prague, Nov 20 (AFP)—At least 100,000 demonstrators rallied in the Czechoslovak capital Monday [20 November], calling on the government to resign and showing support for students on strike in protest against brutality by the security forces, witnesses said.

The crowd in Wenceslas Square, at the heart of Prague, was also protesting against the Communist Party's monopoly on power.

University sources Monday said students had started a week's sit- in strike at Prague University and in other cities over the violent repression of a mass demonstration on Friday.

Thirty-six people were hurt and a student was allegedly beaten to death, but the government has denied reports of the killing.

The demonstrators carried banners expressing "Solidarity with the striking students", waved the national colours and called for the resignation of the government.

They demanded that Communist Party chief Milos Jakes stand down together with the government and, in the most frequently heard slogan, shouted: "An end to single-party rule!"

People also acclaimed journalists from SVOBODNE SLOVO (Free Speech), the Socialist Party newspaper.

The non-communist daily, housed on the square, was the first publication openly to distance itself Saturday from the violent dispersal of last Friday's demonstration.

In a front-page statement published Monday and posted up in front of many homes in Prague, the paper editorialised:

"Once again this year, defenceless demonstrators were physically attacked, with consequences not just for their health, but also with enormous consequences on the soul and the conscience of the people."

With unusual speed and frankness, the official CTK news agency reported in a first despatch on Monday's gathering that it was of "a peaceful nature" and spoke of "tens of thousands of demonstrators" showing "their discontent regarding the government."

The government has denied reports from dissident sources that a mathematics student, Martin Smid, was kicked and clubbed to death by paratroopers. State television Sunday interviewed two students of the same name, to show that they were alive and well.

But one student who said she saw the killing was arrested Sunday along with several leading dissidents, including Peter Uhl and Tomas Hradilek, both of the Charter 77 human rights movement, and a leader of the independent pacifist association NMS, Jan Shudomel.

After the government denial of the killing, some 50,000 people again rallied in Wenceslas Square Sunday, calling for free elections and the resignation of Mr. Jakes.

Leading playwright Vaclav Havel told a press conference Monday that a "power struggle" was going on behind the scenes with a view to replacing Mr. Jakes. He added that Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec had "put out feelers towards the opposition".

Mr. Havel, a founder member of Charter 77, was speaking a day after dissident groups set up a Civic Forum opposition movement, which has called for the removal of all hardliners in the leadership.

Meanwhile, the student strike affected virtually every faculty in Prague University and was being widely followed in Bratislava, Brno and Olomouc, university sources said. Several Prague schools had also joined the movement.

At Olomouc in Moravia, 3,500 students voted for strike action despite opposition from the rector and representatives of the Young Communists, an eyewitness said.

Strikes have also hit most theatres in Prague, while in Bratislava the National Theatre said it would not be opening for the next three days, CTK reported, saying that tickets would be refunded.

100,000 in Wenceslas Square

LD2011185989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] A gathering of students and people of Prague took place on Wenceslas Square in Prague today. Our correspondent Ales Svoboda has this report on what is happening in the city center:

[Svoboda] Wenceslas Square was full as late as 1700 [1600 GMT]. It is difficult to estimate, but I do not think I would be far wrong if I say that there were about 100,000 people here, most of them young people and children, but all generations were represented. The large number of people held up traffic on the through route at the top of Wenceslas Square, and the square itself was impassable to traffic. Long queues of vehicles built up on the through road and adjacent streets.

The participants shouted slogans, held discussions in groups, and their chants and banners expressed dissatisfaction, called for political pluralism, free elections, genuine dialogue and radical reforms. When I left Wenceslas Square, it did not seem as if the security forces were trying to intervene, at least I did not see any of them do so.

At the moment, there are about 500-1,000 people at the top of Wenceslas Square; one or two slogans can be heard here and there, but the overwhelming majority of the participants have set off via Mustek Street for Narodni Trida Street.

Socialist Youth Chairman Speaks

LD2011212689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Demonstrators gathered in front of the Czechoslovak radio [building] in the Vinohradska trida, where several petitions were handed to the central director.

From the base of the St. Wenceslas statue, Vasil Mohorita, member of the Secretariat of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Socialist Union of Youth, addressed those who have gathered there.

He briefed the participants in the meeting on the contents of today's statement of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth and answered questions.

The statement fully supports the stand of the Czechoslovak students, members of the Socialist Union of Youth, dated 17 November, as well as the statement from yesterday's joint session of presidia of the city committee of the Socialist Union of Youth and the city high school council of the Socialist Union of Youth in Prague. In the statement, the Secretariat stands behind the demand of an objective investigation of the activity of law-enforcement bodies on Friday night in the Narodni trida in Prague, and it stresses that the strict application of obsolete legal norms does not correspond to the requirements of the time nor the seriousness of the present situation.

At the end of the statement, it is stressed that the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth is aware of the seriousness of the present situation, above all at high and secondary schools. The solution of this situation is not possible without a dialogue with all those who care about the further fate of our socialist homeland; otherwise the public's trust in the reality and sincerity of goals of restructuring and democratization is and will be threatened, the statement says.

'Peaceful' Ostrava, Brno Demonstrations

LD2011212789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Several hundred mostly young people gathered after 1700 today at the People's Militia Square in Ostrava. The participants demanded the investigation of the action of law enforcement forces at the 17 November meeting and march of Prague students and a nationwide dialogue and expressed their support for the boycott by theater artists. Shortly after 1800, the participants in the meeting left.

Almost 30,000 mostly young people and high school students also gathered this evening in the center of Brno. In Freedom Square they shouted slogans, demanding basic political reforms, condemned the action of law enforcement forces on 17 November in Prague and supported the stand of the Prague theater artists.

In both Ostrava and Brno the demonstrations were peaceful, and law enforcement forces did not intervene.

Students Protest

LD2011231889

[Editorial Report] Prague Television Service in Czech at 1830 GMT ON 20 November broadcasts a report on student protests and activities by unidentified correspondents in different parts of the CSSR.

A correspondent in Olomouc states: "Shortly after 1100, the area in front of the sports hall of the Palacky university in Olomouc is gradually beginning to be filled with university students." An all- university meeting was convened on the instigation of the university committee of the Union of Socialist Youth, he says. "The academic staff and party leadership of the university also took part in it. In all, more than 5,000 particpants gathered in the Olomouc sports hall. All of them spontaneously adopted a resolution denouncing the intervention of law and order forces against the demonstrators in Prague," he adds. A stormy discussion then centered on the strike of higher education students in Prague, he says, noting that the students from the Olomouc University joined the strike and intend to use the forthcoming week for a democratic exchange of views between the university leadership and the representatives of state bodies.

A correspondent in Liberec says that local theaters are not performing today. "A crowd of some 2,000 young people, mostly secondary school and vocational colleges pupils, was walking through the city for most of the day," he adds. Similar action is taking place in a local theater and a joint meeting between higher education students and theater staff is planned for tonight.

A correspondent in Brno states that several thousand people have gathered at Freedom Square in that city. The demonstration passed peacefully, without intervention by security forces, he notes. After reading out the appeal of students and artists, the demonstrators ended their meeting and most of them left the square after 1800, he adds.

A report from Plzen says that life is normal here. There was normal tuition at all three higher education establishments in the city. The leadership of the medical faculty of the Charles University held a meeting with lower years' students at which the events in Prague were explained. The young people denounced the violation of public order and the triggering of "tension in society." The local theater did not carry out its morning performance, the correspondent discloses.

A report from Hradec Kralove says that normal tuition was underway today at all three higher educational education of the city. The local theater stopped performing in connection with the events in Prague.

In Ceske Budejovice, the local theater canceled the celebration of the anniversary of its establishment despite the fact that delegations from abroad arrived to be present at the celebrations. The two local higher educational establishments carried out normal lectures, the correspondent notes.

Prague, Bratislava Students To Strike

LD2011232589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Already this morning there was a meeting in all Prague faculties [of higher education] between the representatives of the leaderships of schools and students about the dialogue on the current domestic political situation. The students decided on a week's strike, and although they will interrupt their education in its course, they will still be coming to school to hold discussions with the leadership of faculties and with other officials. First and foremost they demand the reinvestigation of the events of Friday evening, the democratic dialogue with all forces and ideological currents in our society and open and truthful public information.

A similar situation has also arisen at the Philosophy Faculty of the Commenius University in Bratislava and at other faculties of this school, as well as at some higher and secondary education establishments in other towns of the republic.

Use of Force Denied

LD2011232789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2255 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Approximately 150,000 persons, mainly students and young people, took part in today's demonstration in Wenceslas Square and in the procession in the center of Prague. The gathering protested against the intervention of order enforcement units against the participants of the Prague students' procession on 17 November and demanded basic political reforms.

There was calm in the capital after 2200. According to the report of the city's public security directorate, the order enforcement units did not intervene throughout the demonstration and procession. Similar gatherings were also held in some other towns of our republic.

Government Issues Statement on Demonstrations

LD2011193189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Federal Government has issued a statement after its extraordinary session today on the tense internal political situation with which we shall acquaint you.

The governments of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [SR], the Czech SR, and the Slovak SR, at an extraordinary session in Prague, today dealt with the events that followed the student demonstrations marking the anniversary of events of 17 November 1939.

They acquainted themselves with a report on the progress of Friday's and the followup demonstrations. The governments have been permanently striving for a consistent implementation of the social restructuring and democratization, for the improvement of the social and economic standard of living of citizens. Since the program statement issued in November last year, a number of fundamental measures have been carried out for further economic development and an improved standard of living. Scores of new laws have been drafted, and they form a legal basis for restructuring and economic reform, the implementation of which was accelerated by 1 year. For the implementation of this program the Czechoslovak SR Government last week received the Federal Assembly's full support. It is carrying out the deepest changes in social life in the history of socialism in our country thus far.

For the implementation of the extensive program of restructuring and democratization of society, the active support of all the people, including youth, is decisive. This is why the governments are so worried by the attempts to disturb order, to provoke mistrust in the government's activity and the socialist system. Such an approach only plays into the hands of those who oppose restructuring, and it is in variance with the true interests of the peoples in this country.

To us, restructuring also means dialogue. We welcome all proposals, initiatives, and comments which can clarify and accelerate this process. We are at the same time clearly in favor of political solutions to existing problems. But they cannot be found in an atmosphere of emotion and antisocialist manifestations, as was the case in recent days in Prague. We are in favor of an honest and upright policy; we therefore reject provocations. We do not want to take the path of confrontation that the antisocialist elements are trying to force upon us. No government in a law-abiding state can, however, agree with the violation of the Constitution and laws of the land. This is why the governments of the Czechoslovak SR, the Czech SR, and the Slovak SR agree with measures that aim to restore order and protect property, lives, and the health of citizens.

We appreciate the sensible attitude of the workers, cooperative farmers, and intelligentsia, who even while justly criticizing various shortcomings, are aware of the need for everyday honest work—the basis of our social certainties and living standards. We cannot, however, watch helplessly the activities of those groups that act at variance with the Czechoslovak legal order and are incited from abroad.

The governments are turning to students with an appeal to understand the complex social processes in various aspects and not to give in to illusions about the possibility of a simple solution to complex questions. It is necessary to carefully distinguish who among the youth wants to look for support for selfish goals. We are also turning to our artists. They can be useful to this country's people through creative, not destructive, deeds.

The governments of the Czechoslovak SR, the Czech SR, and the Slovak SR will, in harmony with their constitutional duties, energetically protect the interests of the socialist society and the legal rights of republic's citizens.

Jakes Denounces Attempts To Create 'Chaos'

LD2011201889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front, met in Prague today with prominent officials of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association. He thanked the officials for the work they carry out and praised the work of this organization so far. He spoke about the legacy of the Great October Socialist Revolution and paid attention to the tasks of the association in the current period of carrying out the program of economic and social restructuring. He emphasized that each socialist country is approaching restructuring according to its own needs, conditions, and traditions.

Milos Jakes went on to say that the primary condition of the success of restructuring is the maintenance of economic, social, and political stability. Any attempts to disrupt it, to create chaos and anarchy—such as the recent attempts by various forces to manipulate a part of our cultural front, in particular dramatic artists and young people—can only seriously jeopardize the carrying out of necessary changes and bring society into a crisis with consequences that cannot be predicted. The current era requires real civic responsibility, common sense, and prudence from everyone. The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association could make a serious contribution to this. The exacerbation of emotions and passions does not help the advancement of rational, cultural dialogue about the pressing issues of restructuring and development of socialism, with which we fully identify ourselves and which we need, said Milos Jakes.

Stepan Comments on Prague Events

LD2011203789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1700 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Miroslav Stepan, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague city party organization, met this afternoon at a working meeting the front-ranking party aktiv of major enterprises of the capital. The participants in the meeting were assessing the course of the annual membership meetings and spoke about topical tasks. Comrade Stepan spoke in his speech also about the latest events in Prague. In this connection he said among other things:

[Begin Stepan recording] I would like to say to everybody that our party's policy does not constitute truncheons or interventions. Our party's policy is a realistic, political, and positive program expressed in the comprehensive all-society restructuring and in the democratization, or—in other words—in the gradual implementation of socialist reforms in our whole country and, of course, also in Prague in our particular organizations. Things are not simple nowadays. The stances are crystallizing, and this is normal. There is, however, one thing of which we are aware today: a number of communists are taking up a neutral stance. I am convinced that we must agree with the fact that the demanding changes brought about by the restructuring and demoncratization are incompatible with a certain political neutrality in the public; however, they are not at all compatible with the political neutrality of the communists—members of our party.

The events that took place point to one thing: that there exists an enormous pressure that we, as they say, begin our common cause. It is no secret—and the evidence for this exists—that certain forces are aiming their efforts at working under one law only: hand over everything, or we want nothing. This means that in this respect there also exist certain symptoms of a power struggle. The events on 17 November are not just accidental, and it would be a great injustice to link them precisely with the young generation, with young people irrespective of their ill judgment, their ability to act as a mover of things or—as they say—their lack of life experience. [end recording]

Civic Forum Spokesman Cautions 'Keep Cool'

AU2111141789 Paris AFP in English 1405 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 21 (AFP)—More than 3,000 people, many of them students, gathered on Wenceslas Square in central Prague at midday Tuesday, as an opposition spokesman warned against "provocations" intended to spark confrontation with police.

A leading member of the Civic Forum opposition group formed Sunday, Josef Kemr, called for calm and warned that government agents and posters were circulating in a bid to spark a provocation with security forces, witnesses said.

"Keep cool and demonstrate in calm and dignity", Mr. Kemr said.

Another mass demonstration, the fifth in a series which began with the violent dispersal by the security forces of demonstrators on Friday, was due to start at 3:00 p.m. Tuesday in Wenceslas Square.

Some 5,000 people, almost all students, massed outside the radio station at midday to demand free and objective information on strike movements. Police surrounded the radio building and there were no incidents.

Eight of the 38 people reported injured in Friday's demonstration were said Tuesday to be still in hospital suffering from concussion. One of them also has a broken shoulder, according to Health Ministry sources cited by the official news agency CTK.

Meanwhile in Brussels, an official spokesman said Belgian Foreign Minister Mark Eyskens had postponed a visit he was due to make to Czechoslovakia Wednesday because of the "situation" in the country. No new date has been set for the visit.

RUDE PRAVO Coverage of Prague Unrest

AU2111133489

[Editorial Report] In addition to its editorial and Jiri Kohout's "eye witness account" of the recent Prague demonstrations, Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 20 November devotes the following items to the recent events in the Czechoslovak capital:

On page 1, it carries a 1,100-word CTK report entitled "An Attempt To Provoke Social Unrest." The report first cites statements by the CSSR Ministry of Interior, the Czech Minister of Education Jana Synkova, and the Czech Minister of Health Jaroslav Prokopec, in which they deny reports about the death of student Martin Smid as a consequence of injuries sustainted during the 17 November Prague demonstration, and contends that the 17 November rally was "partly organized from abroad." The CTK report then gives an account of Czechoslovak Television interviews with two Charles University students by the name Martin Smid which were broadcast on 19 November in the evening and mentions the arrest of Charter 77 signatory Petr Uhl on charges of "harming the interests of the republic abroad," according to Article 112 of the Penal Code, and "spreading alarming reports," according to Article 199 of the Penal Code. In conclusion, the CTK report states: "Some theater ensembles responded in a very emotional way to the fast-spreading mendacious rumor about the death of student Martin Smid. Without verifying it, they canceled their performances on Saturday or Sunday [18 and 19 November]. The organizers of the Prague demonstrations have disseminated among them the appeal for a 'theater strike.' Provocative slogans are also being disseminated, which even call for a 'general strike.' On the other hand, voices are to be heard among actors which call for level-headedness and calm.

"Calls for a student strike are being disseminated at university dormitories."

On the same day, in the "A Word on the Day" column on page 1, RUDE PRAVO carries a 400-word statement by Vlasta Sovova, pensioner from Prague, and a 200-word statement by Jaroslav Kubec from Chrastava near Liberec, both of which react to the recent events in Prague. Vlasta Sovova expresses her "outrage as a mother" at the "untrue reports" about the death of Martin Smid and describes this "manipulation by the opposition" as "beastly." She also protests against the conduct of "some students" during the 17 November demonstration, saying that they "spit, in fact, on the memory of Jan Opletal" and the other young victims of fascism. In conclusion Vlasta Sovova appeals to "students and all young people not to swallow the bait of liers and people like [Petr] Uhl, who do not shy away from methods that are incompatible with decent behavior." Jaroslav Kubec voices in his statement his "outrage at the conduct of the management and actors of the Theater of Music in Prague-Karlin" because they prevented him and other spectators from watching the scheduled performance on 18 November. According to Kubec, they "announced that as a consequence of the 'massacring of students' on 17 November 1989 when, supposedly, 'a lot of blood flowed' there would not be any performance." Describing the evening, Kubec then says: "The spectators were leaving their seats because they did not want to listen to the words of the director, who hastened to read some kind of a petition of the actors of Prague theaters. He did not mind at all that by his conduct he was doing violence to the spectators, forcing them to listen to something they did not care to hear. The box-office, too, remained closed and the spectators were thus deprived of their honestly earned money."

Also on page 1, under the headline "Call for Prudence and Civic Responsibility," RUDE PRAVO carries the 600-word address by Frantisek Pitra, premier of the Czech Socialist Republic, which was broadcast on Czechoslovak Television on 19 November.

On the same day, on page 7, RUDE PRAVO carries a 200-word "zr"- signed report entitled "REUTER Doubts Its Own Report." The report quotes a REUTER item of 19 November, which cited dissident Petr Uhl as having said that he is no longer "absolutely sure" about the death of Martin Smid and Vaclav Benda, another dissident, as having questioned the credibility of Drahomira Draska, Smid's girl friend, the source of the original report. On the same page RUDE PRAVO also carries a 100-word "ve"-signed report criticizing Hungarian media coverage of the Prague demonstration and a 100-word "zr"- signed report on Soviet media coverage of the Prague events. This latter report mentions that Soviet television "announced that those detained in Prague also included Alexander Dubcek." In their own reports on the Prague demonstration, monitored Czechoslovak media have not mentioned Dubcek's arrest.

RUDE PRAVO Urges 'Calm' Dialogue

LD21[illegible]1093689 Prague CTK in English 0722 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 21 (CTK)—In its commentary on the current situation in Czechoslovakia the daily RUDE PRAVO today asked: "Is it not the high time for calm discussion and real dialogue aimed at optimum roads of the construction of our social system?"

The daily stated that we now live at the "time of emotions" aroused by a detailed report that "was to affect our feelings. It must be admitted that the intention was fulfilled. Tens of thousands of young people left their classrooms, lecture halls, faculties as well as secondary schools to voice not only their disapproval of the action taken (by police) against Friday's demonstration but also," according to the daily "to proclaim political slogans whose impact they often cannot imagine."

The daily said that "testimonies were being fabricated in the aim to further sharpen the situation." It added that "in this situation a sober word is in vain seeking a listener. Credit is being gained rather by emotional articles of some papers such as E.G. SVOBODNE SLOVO or MLADA FRONTA, by various statments that allow no resistance. They are simpy all for. Nobody is against. But is it really so?" the daily asked in conclusion.

RUDE PRAVO on 'Accumulated Discontent'

LD2111093889 Prague CTK in English 0802 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague, Nov 21 (CTK)—"The valve of accumulated discontent that has long since been in the air has now opened," RUDE PRAVO wrote today.

Commenting on the present day situation in Bulgaria, the paper stressed that the impulse to the social change came from the Communist Party of Bulgaria. "New general secretary Petur Mladenov has won confidence by the mere fact that people simply longed for change, but also due to the fact that the words about democratization, glasnost and the like were immediately accompanied by deeds".

RUDE PRAVO focused on the reasons of the present situation. The country was tired of never-ending reorganizations. Several reforms in the national economy did not adequately match the reality of life and this in its turn undermined people's confidence in the newly-declared concepts. The situation on the domestic market was not satisfactory either, the daily says.

Resolutions to CPCZ Condemn Demonstrations

LD2111094789 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Today's edition of RUDE PRAVO carries resolutions addressed to the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] leadership concerning the events of the last few days in Prague and some other cities in our republic. Delegates of the all-works party conference from Works 1 of the Poldi Spojene Ocelarny [Combined Steelworks] from Kladno reject street demonstrations, which seek to undermine public order and destabilize our society. Members of the Presidium of the District Party Committee in Bruntal also voiced their full support for measures aimed at maintaining discipline and order. Participants in the meeting of the North Moravian Regional Committee of the National Front in Ostrava stressed that they are in favor of dialogue but not of open confrontation.

CPCZ CC Presidium Calls for School Resumption

LD2011232989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2255 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium at its session today dealt with the political situation in the country. It discussed the positions of primary organizations of the party, working collectives, and organs and organizations of the National Front, which have been expressing concern about the tense situation in recent days, in Prague above all, rejecting appeals for protest student strikes at secondary and high schools and some inconsiderate decisions by some theaters to disrupt their daily work. The CPSZ Central Committee Presidium supports the joint statement on the session of the federal and both republican governments on events in Prague around 17 November this year. It also discussed practical measures connected with ensuring law and order and other urgent issues.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium appeals to the public, students, teachers, mentors, educational staff, and parents to do everything possible for lessons to immediately resume in schools.

Rights Group Demands Investigation of Violence

LD2011174189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The leadership of the committee of Czechoslovak public for human rights and humanitarian cooperation has issued a statement which says:

In recent weeks and months we have been witnessing the activation of various strata of our society, which proves the dissatisfaction with the progress to date of restructuring and democratization. As every other society, our society, too, is very differentiated in its views. This differentiation should not, however, result in violent confrontations that do not accord with the democratic and humanitarian traditions of our nations and nationalities. We are however, yet again, witnessing quite opposite approaches.

The committee demands that state organs investigate thoroughly the recent actions of order enforcement forces and demands that international obligations be speedily realized in social practice.

Security Forces' Actions Under Investigation

LD2111120489 Prague CTK in English 1152 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 21 (CTK)—At the request of the Czech premier, the Czech general prosecutor is investigating the causes of the action taken by security forces in Prague on November 17, 1989 and its adequacy, head of the press department of the Czech Government's Office Milan Kasik said here today, in response to questions of the public.

RUDE PRAVO Reports 17 Nov Unrest

AU2111103589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Nov 89 p 2

["lou"-signed report: "Students' Demonstration"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)— Some 15,000 Prague university students assembled at Albertov in Prague-2 at around 1600 yesterday to honor the memory of [Prague student] Jan Opletal, who was murdered by the fascists [on 17 November 1939]. This joint rally of the city council of university students and unorganized students appeared contradictory. It showed how much students long to speak out loud and openly about their problems and that they demand a faster pace of social changes; but it also showed how easily they allow themselves to be carried away and resort to radicalism. This became apparent already during the disturbing reactions to speakers' addresses, particularly those made by representatives of the city council of university students. After the end of the rally at Albertov, its participants formed a procession and set off for Slavin at Vysehrad [cemetery where national heroes are buried], where they were to place flowers at the tomb of [19th-century poet] Karel Hynek Macha.

Already at Albertov, and later during the procession, slogans appeared on streamers and in chants, gradually becoming predominant. They attacked Communist Party of Czechoslovakia representatives and the Communist Party's leading role, demanding the abolition of the people's militia, the resignation of the government, free elections, and so forth. At Vysehrad the rally already had very little in common with a commemorative act, which was to end here. Gradually, voices demanding that the procession move into the center of the city won out. In the evening the crowd proceeded toward the National Theater and Narodni Trida [street on which the National Theater is situated].

Members of the Public Security Corps were summoned to maintain public order in the center of the city. They checked the identity of participants in the demonstration, and about 100 persons were taken to the local police station. Peace in the center of the city had been restored by 2200.

Commentary Assesses 17 Nov Demonstrations

LD2211024489 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Jiri Chlomek commentary—read by announcer]

[Text] Television broadcasts around the world have brought pictures of tens of thousands of young people rallying at the memorial in Prague to remember their peers who died in the Nazi crackdown on November 17th 1939. Regrettably, says Jiri Chlomek, the scenario was disturbed by certain details which gave a different dimension to the event. The first such detail emerged at the beginning of the rally where its organizers, the Young Communist League's Municipal Council of University Students, and various independent groups of students also sought to open a dialogue which would help the process of reforms in Czechoslovakia. There were adequate technical conditions at the rally for anyone who wanted to express oneself on students' problems to do so. The students heard one of the survivors of the 1939 Nazi crackdown, a professor of Charles University, and representatives of the Prague University Students' Council.

Not all liked what was being said from the rostrum, but that is what dialogue is also about. But could those who disagreed offer anything constructive, those who like so much the talk of human rights, asks Jiri Chlomek, and he specifies: those who were posing in front of the cameras of Western television crews?

The rally, which was to have ended at the Vysehrad cemetery of outstanding personalities of Czech history, did not end there. The supporters of the Charter 77 organization wanted more, and they found it easy to guide a mass of students towards Wenceslas Square in downtown Prague. But what followed then could hardly help the progress of reforms, social or economic, says Jiri Chlomek. Thirty-six peple were injured, ten of them are still in hospital. The rumour that one student died has now been exposed as false.

The next day, street discussions in central Prague continued, but they stifled the idea of dialogue, instead giving way to emotions. Of course, such television pictures are more exciting than those of people's smooth day-to-day lives. However, this is what should be at the core of the restructuring process in Czechoslovakia. Extremes cannot help the nation move ahead, says Jiri Chlomek in conclusion.

Havel on 'Power Struggle,' New Opposition Group

AU2011153089 Paris AFP in English 1406 GMT 20 Nov 89

[By Bernard Meixner]

[Text] Prague, Nov 20 (AFP)—Leading dissident and playwright Vaclav Havel said Monday that a "power struggle" was going on behind the scenes in Prague with a view to replacing Communist party leader Milos Jakes.

"It is not a matter of whether Mr. Jakes will be replaced but of who will replace him", the playwright, a founding member of the Charter 77 human rights group, told a press conference here.

"Several factions are currently involved in trying to take over the party leadership, and some have trump-cards that they're carefully holding on to in order not to play them too soon", he said.

Mr. Havel, who has spent several years in prison for his opinions, said he had been "in contact with the country's leaders" but that he had promised not to reveal anything.

However Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec, he said, was "one of those who had put out feelers towards the opposition".

Mr. Adamec is not included in a list of Czechoslovak politicians whose resignation is being demanded by Civic Forum, an opposition group whose creation was announced late Sunday.

The Civic Forum has demanded the removal of all the hardline conservative elements in the Czechoslovak leadership "not as a prior condition but as an inevitable staging-post in the movement towards future negotiations with the opposition", Mr. Havel said.

Informed sources in Prague have spoken of manoeuvres by various "clans" during the build-up to a plenary session of the Czechoslovak Communist party on December 14 and 15, and to the 18th party conference scheduled for next May.

Analysts have singled out the conservatives grouped around ideology chief Jan Fojtik, 61, the technocrats led by Mr. Adamec, 63, the supporters of former reformist premier Lubomir Strougal, 65, who would like to see his return, and the "young Turks" led by Prague party chief Miroslav Stepan, 44, who wishes to revamp the party image while retaining the party's leading role.

Mr. Havel told journalists that "important changes, the most sweeping in 20 years", were underway in the country.

"Czechoslovak society is now ready to express its desire for freedom and democracy, and a real opposition is seeing the light of day.

"The days when only a few isolated Don Quixotes labelled as dissidents came out of their ghetto are over", he said.

Mr. Havel, citing a parliamentary source, said the situation in Czechoslovakia was "extremely dramatic," and that the government had held an extraordinary meeting late Sunday to discuss the crisis.

Some 50,000 people demonstrated in Prague city centre for four hours Sunday, calling for more freedom and for free elections, as police stood by without intervening.

An internationally-reputed playwright, Mr. Havel was one of the leading organisers behind the creation of Civic Forum, a group which has been formed with a view to negotiations with the authorities.

An active spokesman for human rights issues, Mr. Havel spent five years in prison between 1979 and 1983, and has repeatedly been harassed by Czechoslovak police.

He was sentenced again last January and released following an international outcry in May.

Aged 53, the author of a dozen plays, Mr. Havel has received the Swedish Olof Palme Prize and a leading West German peace prize.

The son of one of the founders of the Barrandov film studios, his comfortable social origins meant that the country's authorities barred him from the university teaching profession.

Observers have said that he could play an important role in political life if there were major changes in the leadership of Czechoslovakia.

Charter 77's Hajek on Leadership Change

LD2111113889 Paris Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] For Jiri Hajek, former foreign minister and currently a member of Charter 77, the government apparatus is incapable of reforming itself:

[Begin recording] [Hajek] The current leadership, even if it wanted to, would have great difficulty in undertaking such action, because the shadow of its recent past is too heavy. Its capacity to undertake reforms in the eyes of the public would not be very great. During these demonstrations many slogans tended to favor changing the leadership of the country.

[Announcer] Do you envisage at all at the moment the return to power of the people who led the Spring of 1968?

[Hajek] Listen, most of these people are quite old. They have a certain authority, I think they could serve as a transitional regime. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Women's Union 'Regret' Over 17 November Events

LD2011233989 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Women's Union Central Committee, which dealt at its session in Prague today with the drafts for solving urgent problems of working women and mothers, expressed support on behalf of 1 million members of the organization for the process of restructuring and democratization of our society. In this connection, it expressed regret that the 17 November events in Prague took place when the 17 November of 50 years ago, which is indelibly inscribed in the history of our peoples, was being commemorated.

In its adopted resolution, the Czechoslovak Women's Union appeals to mothers, parents, artists, educationalists, and our whole public to influence the young generation by their prudence and wisdom and by applying their life experience. It expressed the conviction that the socialist state possesses enough lawful means to resolve even complex situations for the benefit of us all, honest people, and all society.

Students on Problems, Unwarranted Punishment

AU2111130489 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 18 Nov 89 p 2

["Statement of Czech Central Committee of Socialist Youth Union"]

[Text] Members of the Czech Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union [SSM] participated in the commemorative act organized by the Prague City Council of University Students, together with students who are not organized in the SSM [in Prague on 17 November]. By having paid tribute to the memory of Jan Opletal and nine executed representatives of the National Union of Czech University Students, they once again and emphatically called attention to problems which, from the viewpoint of us young people, are not being sufficiently explained and often remain unsolved. We call on the SSM Faculty Committees to organize dialogue with students on all problems and to defend and assert their justified demands. Furthermore, we call on the SSM Faculty Committees to resist possible unwarranted punishment of students who took part in this event.

In Prague on 17 November 1989, approved by the Czech SSM Central Committee.

Bratislava Students Demonstrate 21 Nov

LD2111131789 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Students at higher educational establishments in Bratislava held a meeting in the assembly hall of

Komensky University and in the areas in front of the building this morning. They expressed unequivocal support for the Prague students movement. Representatives of individual faculties, including the faculties of Philosophy, Law, Mathematics and Physics, Medicine, Natural Sciences, and Teachers' Training of Komensky University, the Faculty of Physical Training and Sport of Komensky University, the School of Economics, the Mechanical and Electrical Engineering Faculty of the Slovak Technical University and the Academy of Music and Dramatic Art have called on students to formulate their demands at the individual faculties which the undergraduates would then be able to present in unity.

Afterwards, the participants in the meeting marched in a peaceful parade to Hviezdoslav Square where a crowd numbering several thousand and comprising mostly young people gathered. They were informed about the latest students' initiatives and the statement of the newly established independent student trade unions. The statement expressed a lack of confidence in the Socialist Union of Youth, which up to now has not sufficiently promoted the legitimate demands and interests of young people.

Direct participants in the Prague students' demonstration then informed the rally about the course of the 17 November events.

The meeting passed peacefully and the young people dispersed in a disciplined way.

Socialist Party Leader Queried on 'Forum' Stance

LD2011222989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
2100 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] The Czechoslovak Socialist Party sympathizes with the new movement formed yesterday, which criticizes the current Prague leadership. Szabolcs Udvarhelyi tried to inquire about the details.

[Udvarhelyi] What prompted the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, which is increasingly seeking a new profile, to join the new organization, Civic Forum, which was formed yesterday afternoon? I telephoned Jan Skoda, leading secretary of the Socialist Party, in Prague with this question. He, however, declined a telephone interview because of urgent tasks.

However, when I mentioned to him that, according to news agency reports, his signature figures among the names of the founders of the citizens' forum, the leading secretary immediately and firmly denied this. As he said, he really was at the founding session of the organization yesterda as a private person. He sympathizes with a good number of the organization's objectives, but he did not sign the founding proclamation because his own party also has taken a stand in connection with the demonstrations, with their dispersing, and generally with the political situation in Czechoslovakia. The Socialist Party wisheswish to shape its own policy and to play a much larger and definitely more independent role than previously in Czechoslovakia.

To demonstrate this, Jan Skoda immediately cited his own party's stand. This proclaims that it does not agree with the dispersing of the peaceful demonstrations. This police intervention only increases social tension. The Socialist Party demands that measures such as those on 17 November should not be taken again. Jan Skoda also drew attention to the fact that in the judgment of his party, Czechoslovak society is now at a crossroads and the correct road can be found only through genuine, open, and real dialogue.

CTK Reports Postponement of Krenz Visit

LD2011200389 Prague CTK in English 1832 GMT
20 Nov 89

[Text] Prague Nov 20 (CTK)—The visit to Czechoslovakia by General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) and GDR State Council Chairman Egon Krenz, scheduled for Tuesday, has been postponed upon an agreement between the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the SED Central Committee.

Open Discussion at Teplice on Pollution

LD2011235889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Last week there was a demonstration in Teplice at which young people, in particular from this North Bohemian town and the surrounding area, expressed their dissatisfaction with the state of the environment. According to an agreement reached then between participants at the gathering and officials of the municipal Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] committee, the people of Teplice gathered today at the Winter Stadium for an open discussion on the environment. Our correspondent Stanislav Benda reports on the meeting:

[Begin Benda recording] The Winter Stadium in Teplice holds 5,000 and it is full. It is mainly young people of the town who have come, the second largest represented group is the so-called middle generation, but there are also older people here too. The organizers are also counting on the possibility that the capacity of the stadium will not be enough, and so they have rigged up a sound system in the area in front of the stadium.

As you know, the dissatisfaction of the people of North Bohemia culminated a week ago when, owing to an inversion and bad atmospheric dispersal conditions, the concentration of sulfur oxides increased for a short time to 20 times the maximum permitted levels, and for a long period it remained 10 times higher than this limit. What they are talking about here today is what can be done to make the air better to breathe in North Bohemia, too, and specifically in Teplice district.

The discussion is led by Antonin Vana, leading secretary of the district CPCZ committee. There are also other district officials here, but, above all, representatives of the Federal Ministery of Fuel and Power have arrived, as well as directors and other managers of local power stations, mines, chemical works, and the other main environmental polluters here in North Bohemia. Anyone can take part in the discussion, because there are microphones for that purpose in the stadium.

Unfortunately there are also individuals and small groups here who are trying to disrupt the dialogue. For example, among those listening outside, there is a group which has already smashed in the doors. However, after the initial tension, a sensible discussion got under way after all.

The fact is that at the moment neither the district nor the regional capacities are adequate. Desulfurization has not been rated highly enough, and now the central bodies must held with a speedy remedy. There have also been demands for pollution measurement instruments to be installed, and it has been said that these will be in place in the town center as early as February. Another question was why small hydroelectric power stations are not being repaired. Maybe you know the answer: They are being reparied in turn.

Of course, not everything can be remedied immediately, but some things can: primarily, as we heard, the regulation measures for the polluters can be speedily altered and the monitoring systems can be improved; stocks of natural and town gas can be monitored so that they are put to better use; separators can be fitted promptly at the Ledvice power station, and a heat extraction line can be connected up there; fuels with a lower sulfur content can be processed for use in large heating stations.

Most of the comments about the environment are justified, but some of the questions show a lack of knowledge. On the other hand, some of the replies are not specific enough. It is a pity, too, that the discussion has been spoiled by technical faults on the sound system, but it is quite clear that this meeting—and I am not going to make so bold as to guess, at this stage, how long it is going to last—will throw up new suggestions for a better situation in the district. [end recording]

Border Crossings From GDR to FRG Still 'Busy'

AU1411190889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Nov 89 p 2

["CTK, zr"-signed report: "Borders Continue To Be Busy Places"]

[Excerpts] Prague— Despite the decision of the GDR Government to allow GDR citizens to cross the borders to the FRG and West Berlin directly, the situation at our border checkpoints remains virtually unchanged.

At the Pomezi border checkpoint near Cheb, a 2 to 3 km line of cars with GDR license plates formed on Saturday [11 November]. Many other people came on foot. Since Wednesday [8 November], a daily average of more than 7,000 GDR citizens, all of them young men and women, often with children, have been crossing the border to the FRG here. [passage omitted]

Pomezi is the most sought after point of passage from the GDR to the FRG on our territory. Many of those who come here say they prefer to wait 4 hours here rather than having to spend an incomparably longer time at some border crossing between the GDR and the FRG.

The checkpoints at the border with Poland in North Moravia were also busy. Between Friday [10 November] and Sunday [12 November] night, 280 Polish citizens had to be turned back at the railway station at Petrovice near Karvina because of forged invitations or invalid travel documents. A total of 90 citizens of the Polish People's Republic were fined because they carried with them an inordinate quantity of food and other merchandise. Despite the closure of the Ostrava flea market, our northern neighbors offer textiles and other articles for sale clandestinely in shops and in the streets. [passage omitted]

Cultural Cooperation Document Signed With FRG

AU1411121089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 2

[CTK report in "International Relations" column]

[Text] A joint CSSR-FRG commission held a meeting in Prague 7-9 November. An implementation program for the 1989-91 period to the agreement on cultural cooperation between the CSSR and the FRG Governments was signed at the end. It is the first program which concretizes contacts and projects between the two countries in science, education, culture, and other areas.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With NOVOSTI

AU1411120689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 89 p 2

["(RP)"-signed report: "RUDE PRAVO-NOVOSTI Cooperation Agreement"]

[Text] Prague—An agreement on cooperation between RUDE PRAVO and the NOVOSTI Press Agency (APN) was signed in Prague on Friday [10 November]. The agreement was signed by Albert Vlasov, chairman of the APN board, and Zdenek Horeni, RUDE PRAVO editor in chief.

Lenart Receives AKEL Economic Delegation

AU1311090589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Cypriot Delegation Received by J. Lenart"]

[Text] Prague—On Wednesday [8 November] in Prague, Jozef Lenart, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

[CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, received an economic delegation from the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) Central Committee led by Jorgos Khristodoulidhis, member and secretary of the AKEL Central Committee Politburo.

During a comradely and friendly conversation, they briefed each other on developments in the two countries and parties. While evaluating interparty relations, they stated that, despite their current high level, further opportunities for their development exist. Particular emphasis was placed on increasing mutually advantageous economic cooperation. It is necessary to take new and untraditional steps for this, steps such as establishing joint enterprises and cooperation in third markets.

Comrade Jozef Lenart acquainted his guests with the course and aims of social restructuring in the CSSR. He gave an assurance that the CPCZ will continue to take an active approach toward finding a just solution to the Cyprus question.

Lenart Meets With Belgian Officials in Brussels

AU1711151589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Nov 89 p 7

[Milan Madr report: "We Want To Be Good Partners"]

[Text] Brussels (From our own correspondent)—Fruitful and stimulating talks with Mark Eyskens, the Belgian foreign minister, were the focal point of the 2d day of the working visit to Belgium by Jozef Lenart, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium member and secretary.

The good development of Czechoslovak-Belgian relations is documented by the forthcoming visit that Eyskens will make to Czechoslovakia as well as by the early arrival of a delegation from entrepreneurial circles headed by the minister of foreign trade. Both representatives referred to those elements that bring the two countries closer together, elements such as the similarity in our historic fate and traditions or our economic structures. J. Lenart spoke about the course of action toward restructuring and democratization in the CSSR. He said that while formulating its policy line, Czechoslovakia is attempting to make use of other countries'—both socialist and capitalist—experiences. It is also taking into consideration the rich experience gained regarding the principle of the European Community.

In this connection, he referred to the Czechoslovak-Belgian agreement on guarantees for foreign investment, the first agreement of this kind to be concluded with a capitalist country. This means that we are creating favorable conditions through a modern approach to economic cooperation. We want to acquire modern technology in the areas of consumer goods production, ecology, and so on.

Eyskens declared that Czechoslovakia is a truly reliable partner. He is convinced that there are extensive opportunities for the intensification of relations. He also pointed out that Belgium and the CSSR are similar with regard to nationality issues and that the method of resolving the nationality question in Czechoslovakia is taken as an example in Belgium.

J. Lenart then made a visit to the Bell Telephone factory in the town of Geel, which is approximately 60 km northeast of Brussels. The modern enterprise, which has 1,200 employees, produces, among other things, public telecommunications networks, lines for transferring data, transmitters, equipment for space communications, automated mailing systems, and so on.

On the same day, the Czechoslovak guest had a meeting with Ripa di Meana, a member of the European Community Commission with responsibility for environmental issues, and exchanged views with him on the integration processes under way in western Europe. He later met with Pierre Chevalier, the Belgian secretary of state for scientific affairs and planning, with whom he discussed the CSSR's interest in cooperation in science and technology and in basic and applied research. The Belgian representative showed an interest in the results and organization of scientific activity in our country.

Lenart Returns

LD1611233889 Prague CTK in English 2030 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Brussels Nov 16 (CTK correspondent]—Presidium member and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart ended here Thursday a working visit to Belgium and left for home.

Evaluating the talks with Belgian political and economic representatives Jozef Lenart underlined that the two sides agreed to exchange views on bilateral relations both between political parties and the governments.

He pointed to the willingness of the European communities' representatives to consider cooperation with Czechoslovakia. He emphasized the two sides' belief that Czechoslovakia may become a constructive partner in this cooperation, especially in ecology. On the other hand, Czechoslovakia's potentialities in relation to the EEC scientific-technological program Eureka are insufficient.

Czechoslovak engineering, chemistry, agriculture, metallurgy and power engineering have in Jozef Lenart's opinion a chance to succeed in establishing joint ventures with Belgian partners.

Besides the important economic cooperation, Jozef Lenart pointed out the growing significance of political contacts in the stgrengthening of security in Europe. "We found in Belgium potential partners for political initiatives in the interest of building a common European home", he said in this connection.

Jozef Lenart expressed the idea that Belgium sees in Czechoslovakia a reliable partner for mutually advantageous enterprise activities and political cooperation in building a European home.

Protests Held in Several Locations

Dresden Demonstration

LD2011195589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1834 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Tens of thousands of Dresden inhabitants are demonstrating at present in the city center. On banners and placards they call in particular for a referendum on Article 1 of the GDR Constitution (the leading role of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany), for legal security instead of state security, and for punishment of those responsible for the crisis in the GDR. Afterward there is to be a rally at Fucikplatz. Several Dresden grass-roots groups have organized this third officially sanctioned demonstration.

Silent Magdeburg March

LD2011220589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2051 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Magdeburg (ADN)—After the prayers in Madgeburg Cathedral for social renewal in the GDR, thousands once again gathered this evening for a silent protest march through the city. The procession marched to the District [kreis] Authority of the National Security Office, where the demonstrators placed candles. They delivered a catalog of demands, which had earlier been read out in the cathedral, calling upon state security to lay open its structures and to hand over buildings for public use. The tasks of the new office should be discussed openly. In the demonstration, banners were carried reading "Renaming is not enough—we demand disbandment" or "Control by independent groups." The demonstrators sang the GDR national anthem. The peaceful procession broke up only very gradually in front of the office.

50,000 in Halle

LD2011193289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1853 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Halle (ADN)—Around 50,000 citizens gathered this evening for a procession around Halle's city center. On banners and placards they called for legal security instead of state security; democracy; irreversible renewal of the social processes; and genuine free and secret elections. After 90 minutes or so, the demonstration, organized by the citizen initiatives and independent groups represented in the "House of Reform," ended in front of Halle's Flag Monument on the Hansering. Roland Claus, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Area [bezirk] Executive, who marched at the front of the procession, gave his opinion on the unplanned rally when pressed by participants. The SED did not want to take over the Monday demonstrations for its own purposes. He agreed with the proposal that they be followed by discussion. The past weeks have shown that in this way a truly democratic awakening is being set in motion.

Hundreds in Schwerin

LD2011195389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1907 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Schwerin (ADN)—Hundreds of demonstrators in Schwerin's Alter Garten signed an appeal on Monday calling for a referendum on changing the Constitution, particularly on ending the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] claim to leadership. [passage omitted]

Other demands by the demonstrators, which was organized mainly by the Schwerin Artists' Unions and the theater culture working group of the New Forum, related to a democratic renewal of culture, independent responsibility for artists and the exclusion of any kind of right of objection by the SED to artistic decisions. After the demonstration, the participants marched through the center of Schwerin.

Cottbus Protest

LD2011193889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—After a New Forum information prayer service this evening in Cottbus's Oberkirche, several thousand inhabitants of the area city gathered for a demonstration, under the motto "The wave of travel is all very well!—What about the concepts for our country?" The participants opposed the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's claim, to leadership and demanded legal security and the transfer of enterprise newspapers into the hands of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] trade union. At the same time, representatives of the New Forum were meeting members of parties and mass organisations in the House of Youth, to come to an understanding on their common ground and differences.

100,000 in Leipzig

LD2011182189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1750 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Over 100,000 Leipzig citizens this evening once again announced their readiness for active participation in the democratic reshaping of the country during a demonstration in Leipzig's Karl-Marx-Platz and on the Ring Road. On banners and leaflets they expressed their determination to remain in the GDR. "Anyone leaving our country now is doing so because he cannot drive a Mercedes here. But, will he be able to over there?"—"Don't spend GDR money in the West—you are harming yourselves!"—and "Who is to provide the financial support for the traveling, when so many are clearing out?" Demands were also made for immediate, free, and secret elections, after the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] renunciation of its claim to leadership. Before the start of the processing, representatives of parties, organizations, initiative groups, and enterprizes demanded, through loudspeakers outside the opera, an immediate end to SED intervention in decisions on the state, economy, national education, and science. The SED program for action and the general secretary's statement might have given birth to hopes, but hopes were not yet trust.

Different Estimate

LD2011201389 Hamburg DPA in German
1832 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin/Leipzig (DPA)—Around 250,000 people once again demonstrated in Leipzig this evening against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] claim to leadership and in favor of free elections.

After the traditional peace prayers in the churches in Leipzig's city center, the crowed gathered in Karl-Marx-Platz and marched around the Leipzig Ring Road. In addition to the demands for democracy, free elections, and freedom of press and opinion, there is the demand this time for the aboliton of the SED's claim to leadership. The present leadership is also called upon to draw unequivocal conclusions from their mistakes. Banners which were carried through Leipzig's city center read: "Fair trials for unfair SED officials," "The power comes from the people, not from the SED," and "A snake can shed its skin, but it remains a snake," in allusion to the so-called "wrynecks"—SED officials and politicians who have presented themselves as reformers since the radical change.

For the first time, the situation of Federal citizens was included in the catalogue of demands. One banner read: "Without visa and without complulsory exchange—for our fellow citizens in the FRG too." [passage omitted]

Around 40,000 people demonstrated in Karl-Marx-Stadt, calling for a referendum on Article 1 of the GDR Constitution, which lays down the leading role of the SED. There were also demands for the formation of a provisional government with "consultative cooperation" from opposition groups, as well as for the highest offices of the state to be shared among different people. A GDR flag with a "halved" hammer and compasses emblem was waved in Karl- Marx-Stadt. [passage omitted]

Solidarity With CSSR Demonstrators Urged

AU2111094989 Vienna Domestic Service
in German 0600 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Michael Kerbler report on demonstration in Leipzig on 20 November]

[Excerpt] The call "We are the country!" of hundreds of thousands of people in Prague's Wenceslas Square in the evening found a political echo in Leipzig with the call: "We are the people!" In Karl-Marx Square, approximately 120,000 people stood tightly packed when a young man took the floor:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] My name is Tomas [word indistinct]. I come from Bratislava in Czechoslovakia. [applause]

[Second unidentified speaker] Let us show our sympathy with the struggle of the CSSR people for reforms and democracy, which has already claimed human lives, in a minute of silence. [end recording]

And then there was oppressive silence in the square.

After this minute of silence, a Dresden citizen demanded some sign of solidarity with the demonstrators in Prague and other cities of the CSSR from Premier Hans Modrow.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] Mr Modrow, you can reestablish the confidence that has been lost—or did not exist at all—if you immediately call on the Prague government and state and say that we dissociate ourselves from this government. [applause] [end recording]

The mood in Leipzig became explosive. Banners criticized the claim to leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and called for free elections, and a large sign said: "Germany—unified nation!" This was the catchword for the next speaker:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] We are one nation! [applause] [shouts in chorus] We are one nation!

[Second unidentified speaker] We must not suppress the desire for the unity of Germany! [applause] [end recording]

Again and again, mainly young GDR citizens stated why they no longer trust the government, not even the reshuffled government. For many of the SED functionaries belong to Honecker's era, the era of the communism of frozen faces, it was stressed. And Egon Krenz is one of them.

[Begin unidentified speaker recording] I do not trust this lunatic at all because on 9 October, Egon Krenz gave the order to use live ammunition and he gave the green light for the order to shoot. [end recording] [passage omitted]

CSSR Officials Discuss 'Critical' Situation

LD2111095989 East Berlin ADN in English
0830 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Prague (ADN)—Czechoslovakia's state and federal governments and the Communist Party Presidium on Monday discussed at special sessions the critical political situation in the country.

A statement published by the national CETEKA news agency said the Federal Government and the governments of the Czech and Slovak republics came out for a political solution to all problems. This could, however, not be realized in an atmosphere of emotion and passion.

The governments approved police action against a demonstration in Prague last Friday.

The Presidium of the Communist Party as well came out for a political solution and appealed to the public to make efforts that teaching in colleges and universities be resumed.

On Monday, 100,000 demonstrators in Wenceslas Square, Prague's main boulevard, protested at violent action by security forces against a student demonstration last Friday.

Carrying banners and chanting choruses, the demonstrators demanded a new government, political pluralism, free elections, real dialogue and radical reforms.

Pupils Demonstrate at Checkpoint Charlie

AU1711210589 Hamburg DPA in German 1724 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin—Approximately 200 pupils from East Berlin demonstrated for peace and international understanding at Checkpoint Charlie, where foreigners are processed. According to the police, they marched with a 800-meter-long banner from East Berlin to Kochstrasse in the western party of the city and back again. On the western side of the wall, approximately 30 pupils from the Kurt-Held School waited for them.

Prosecutor Says All Demonstrators Released

AU2111103789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Prosecutor General: No Demonstrator in Prison"]

[Text] Berlin—The Press Office of the prosecutor general has told ADN that the prosecutor general has received numerous letters from the GDR and abroad, demanding the release of persons who are allegedly still in prison after having been arrested during demonstrations on 7 and 8 October. The GDR prosecutor general repeats once again that no such persons are in pretrial confinement or in prison.

Dresden Mayor, 'Group of 20' Member Talk

LD2011145789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1259 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Representatives of other citizens' groups will in the future participate in the dialogue between the "Group of 20" and the chief mayor of Dresden. This emerges from today's fourth round of talks at the town hall. Referring to the coalition government, Chief Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer said it means that the groups will now have the opportunity to assume responsibility for developments in the GDR even before the new elections. The body he is a member of enjoys the trust of many inhabitants,said Dr Herbert Wagner of the "Group of 20." Its members had acted as intermediaries in demonstrations in Dresden in early October, and have been given a corresponding role.

A proposal will be submitted to this week's session of the city assembly to involve the group on a permanent basis, and with speaking time, in the plenary sessions. Its members are represented in ad-hoc working groups, together with people's deputies. The city assembly will also hear a report on their activity.

In the fourth round of dialogue the establishment of a commission to investigate infringements by the defense and security organs in demonstrations was discussed. The city council has already nominated deputies from all levels to the commission.

The two sides approved a telegram to the chief mayor of Prague, in which they make a plea, based on their experiences in peaceful political dialogue, for the avoidance of all confrontation between non-violent demonstrators and security forces.

Talks Resume

LD2011121589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1031 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—The dialogue between demonstrators and Chief Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer, which began on 9 October 1989 in Dresden, continued today at the town hall. This fourth talk is concerned, among other things, with preparing the next meeting of the city council assembly, in which members of the "Group of 20" are included as the demonstrators' representatives. They will, for example, report on the activity of the working groups, established jointly with local deputies, on problems of society and the community.

New JUNGE WELT Editor Appointed

LD2111095789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0704 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—"We want to make a new newspaper," writes Jens Koenig, the new editor-in-chief of JUNGE WELT on Tuesday in a front-page article. Thousands of readers' letters, mainly last summer, showed that the newspaper had lost credibility and confidence. "The political responsibility for this must be borne by the publishers of this newspaper, the Central Council of the Free German Youth and the previous editorship, even if the structures in the state apparatus and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as well as interference from there greatly restricted scope for action." [passage omitted]

Kuhrig Elected Chairman of GDR-Soviet Society

LD2011183689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1310 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Mueckenberger has announced his immediate resignation as president and member of the central executive of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society (DSF). [passage omitted]

The central executive elected in a secret ballot a working secretariat of 11 members, which will continue the activity of the DSF until the extraordinary congress in February 1990. The chairman is Heinz Kuhrig, who has been charged with representing the organization in public.

Several CDU Officials Resign Chamber Positions

AU2111101389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Changes in the CDU Group"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Thursday [16 November], the group of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in the People's Chamber released Wolfgang Heyl, at his own request, from the position of the group's chairman and expressed its thanks for the work he had done for several decades. Doctors recommended that he withdraw from all elective posts for health reasons. The CDU group also consented to Ulrich Fahl's request to release him from his position of the group's deputy chairman, and expressed its thanks for his longstanding work.

The CDU group elected Adolf Niggemeier as new chairman and proposed that he be elected to the Presidium of the People' Chamber. Christine Wieynk was elected deputy chairwoman of the group.

The CDU group acknowledged the fact that Gerald Goetting vacated his seat in the People's Chamber.

Further on Women's League Resignation

LD1611181389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The National Executive of the DFD [Democratic Women's League of Germany] today elected Eva Rohmann its new chairwoman at a session in Berlin today.

The chairwoman to date, Ilse Thiele, who chaired the organization for 36 years, announced her resignation at the start of the session. She said she had based her decision on the necessary and thorough renewal of the DFD, in the process of which more young women with new thinking, with strength and commitment should find a place at the top. The National Executive unanimously approved this step. It thanked the long-serving chairwoman for her work and paid tribute to her as a highly regarded personality in the international women's movement.

There was an extensive debate on a statement which is to herald the thorough renewal of the women's organization. It stresses that the DFD wants to be a "united, independent, and democratic mass organization." It wants to be open to all women in the GDR, regardless of their ideology, political education, nationality, religion, job, education, age, social background, and sexual orientation.

The DFD will work for the full implementation of sexual equality, for equal opportunities for employment of women in all areas, for the maintenance of good traditions, and the surmounting of modes of behavior which are a hindrance.

In the debate, parts of which were controversial, women spoke in favor of a stronger commitment to the right to have a say on elected bodies and in the state, for new content in DFD work and structures, and its opening up to other women's groups in the GDR.

During a break in the session, Eva Rohmann told journalists that the decisive issue was how in the future the DFD would represent women's interests in the GDR. So far, the DFD had not done this enough, which was partly linked to the country's political structures. For example, the organization wants its deputies to speak for working women too. This does not mean competition with the unions, as it is a matter of women's problems beyond the factory gates.

Academy of Sciences Reinstates 2 Members

LD1611201889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1902 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Today in Berlin, a plenum of the Academy of Sciences resolved to rescind the expulsion of Ordinary Member of the Academy Ernst Bloch (1885-1977) and Corresponding Member of the Academy Robert Havemann (1910-1982) from the membership list of the GDR Academy of Sciences and to make a relevant correction in the academy's documents. Thus the body was acting on a recommendation from the philosophy, economics, history, political science and jurisprudence, and chemistry divisions. [passage omitted]

GDR's Seiters Visits, Meets Officials

Press Statement

LD2011203289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1928 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Egon Krenz, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met in Berlin on Monday with Rudolf Seiters, FRG minister for special tasks and head of the Federal Chancellor's Office. A press statement communicated to ADN states that during the meeting in the offices of the State Council there was an objective and open exchange of views on a number of topical issues concerning relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Egon Krenz talked about the SED action program for the profound renewal of socialism in the GDR. Hans Modrow explained the program of the new GDR Government. Both made it clear that the important thing is the creation of a profoundly democratic political system and comprehensive economic reform.

The two sides reaffirm the shared commitment by both states that never again should war, but only peace, emanate from German soil. They declare the readiness of the GDR and the FRG to contribute to early substantial results at the negotiations on conventional disarmament and confidence-building in Vienna.

Egon Krenz and Hans Modrow stressed that the GDR unreservedly espouses the principles of the CSCE process. The European house can only be built on the basis of the existing states and their social orders.

On the GDR side it was pointed out that stability in relations between the two German states is a decisive precondition for stability in Europe. Relations have to be based on mutual respect and sovereignty, territorial integrity, equal rights, and noninterference. Reunification is not on the agenda. The GDR is and remains a sovereign state. It is opening the frontiers, but this does not mean that they should be called into question.

The statement goes on to say that stress has been put on the GDR's interest in developing cooperation between the GDR and the FRG in a comprehensive way on the basis of the treaty on the principles of relations, in raising relations to a new level, in shaping them more closely and over a longer term, and thus, in ensuring a peaceful and well-regulated coexistence. The GDR wants a community of responsibility for peace and a community of treaties for relations.

The two sides, which include GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and State Secretary for Foreign Trade Alexander Schalck, discussed, among other things, questions relating to travel and visitors, the development of economic and trade relations, cooperation on environmental protection, the expansion of postal and telephone communications, and transport issues. They agreed to continue or begin talks on the relevant levels, in order to achieve specific results as soon as possible. This could, the press statement says, be a good basis for a meeting with Chancellor Helmut Kohl in the GDR.

News Conference

LD2011211989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1930 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At the conclusion of his 2-and-1/2-hour talk with Rudolf Seiters, Egon Krenz told journalists: They were very sound talks; we worked on a great catalogue of questions. Above all, we dealt with preparations for the meeting with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Further preparatory talks will be needed so that the chancellor and I can reach results which are in the interests of both the people of the GDR and the Federal Republic. Asked whether he reckoned with a visit this year, Egon Krenz said: "We have not yet spoken about the date, but I think that we will find a good date which will be as soon as possible."

Prime Minister Hans Modrow was asked whether his ideas, contained in the government statement on German-German relations, have been made more precise. He said further steps have been taken which show the Federal Government how the GDR Government imagines progress on the basis of this government statement. He will hold talks with the federal chancellor along with Egon Krenz, as he did today. He was included as the responsible person in the government, Hans Modrow said. You can see in this the new style of our work, Egon Krenz added. The prime minister and the chairman of the Council of State are working hand in hand.

The prime minister was asked further whether he could say anything more exact on the proposals he had made more precise. It is not a matter here of anticipating things. The steps to be taken in further advances are connnected with both the economy of the GDR and with that of the Federal Republic. It is a matter of supportive measures from both governments. After all, the economic units will have to meet each other, the enterprises from the FRG and the combines of the GDR will have to find their partnerships with each other.

Chancellery Minister Seiters was asked about his impression of whether a really new beginning in German-German relations is possible with this GDR Government. First, he noted that this has been an exploratory discussion, a first discussion. He reminded his audience of the statement by the federal chancellor that the FRG Government is prepared to render comprehensive aid if there is an irreversible move in the GDR to free elections, pluralism, and if there is a change in the Constitution. An FRG journalist interrupted with the question whether the time has not come for Bonn to reply with specific proposals. Comprehensive and fundamental aid in new dimensions, Seiters answered, assumes the GDR's responses will be clear and precise in the terms he has suggested.

Seiters has gained the impression that changes in the Constitution and electoral law are due to be passed in early 1990 and that Article 1 of the Constitution will be altered. It is also, according to Seiters, a matter of cooperative projects in the interests of the people in the GDR and the FRG. He is thinking of cooperation in environmental protection and improvement in communications possibilities. It is also a matter of desires and expectations that can be justified to each population. In this connection he mentioned the welcome money for GDR citizens which is assuming enormous proportions because of the increasing number of visitors, while on the other hand, FRG citizens have to exchange a minimum amount. The welcome money will continue to be paid, at least for this year. "We are considering, however, a new regulation for the coming year. These talks will continue. The key word is foreign currency funds. But, we have not made any final decisions on this, that was not the intention either." It has been agreed that this talk, with these participants, will continue in about 14 days, prior to the talk with the federal chancellor. Further talks at expert level will also continue.

From this point of view it remains important that the sovereign power in the GDR is the people, said Egon Krenz. In this spirit, all the decisions which have to be made concerning the GDR are, of course, the GDR's decisions, and everything concerning the FRG is a sovereign decision of the FRG. Both are significant, for only equal rights make good relations possible, as is usual among neighbors.

Seiters' Conference

LD2011213689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2048 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Federal Minister Rudolf Seiters told the press in the Federal Republic's Permanent Mission this evening that his talks with Egon Krenz and Hans Modrow were conducted very intensively and touched on a wealth of individual and fundamental questions. [passage omitted] The Chancellery minister gave precedence in his opening remarks to principles by which the Federal Government is guided. They know full well that they are affected by the dramatic events in the GDR, "that there is national responsiblity, that there must be solidarity, but that we must account for all that we do to our own population," Seiters said. Everything must be geared to the goal of self-determination for all Germans and promoting reform processes aimed at democracy, political pluralism, and free elections. Solidarity must be shown in the transitional phase as well. This means that the Federal Republic is ready for comprehensive economic aid in a new dimension, provided there are fundamental political and economic changes. This is justifiable, to ensure that false methods are not subsidized. [passage omitted]

The Federal Government is prepared for the formation of a joint economic commission. It has been assured of the full inclusion of West Berlin. A series of talks at expert level are being held on this subject. Independent of fundamental conditions, projects are conceivable which are in the interests of both the people in the GDR and of our own people, Seiters stressed. This applies to environmental protection, such as air purification and water protection, or improved telecommunications. An important topic has been tourist and visitor traffic. The GDR must also make an important contribution to solving this problem. There has been discussion of the possible setting up of a foreign exchange fund. There are differing opinions on this. It is basically an unacceptable situation that the Federal Republic is paying welcome money, which has risen to considerable proportions thorugh the increasing number of visitors, while there are difficulties in traffic from West to East. This applies to the minimum exchange, obstacles to entry and entry bans, and to return possibilities for former GDR citizens.

Seiters Discusses Talks

LD2011214989 Hamburg DPA in German 2025 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Elections to the GDR People's Chamber will take place in autumn 1990 at the earliest, possibly only in spring 1991. This information was given to Bonn Chancellery Minister Rudolf Seiters by GDR Premier Hans Modrow. As Seiters revealed to the press at the FRG mission this evening following his talks with GDR State Council Chairman and party leader Egon Krenz and Modrow, the FRG Government is hoping that the GDR will introduce progressive investment legislation, which allows direct investment by companies from other countries, especially the FRG, and which guarantees protection of such projects. "Restrictions have to be broken down" which might hamper trade, Seiters said. It is also in the GDR's interests to shape a social market economy as far as possible. These ideas have to be made more precise now and "stumbling blocks" have to be removed.

As negotiations are still at the developmental stage, first of all, special talks have to be held on all the important topics at the level of experts, Seiters said. The federal economics minister is prepared to talk to his GDR counterpart "as soon as possible."

Eleven new projects have been added to the numerous existing environmental projects between Bonn and East Berlin, according to Seiters.

Seiters Meets Opposition

LD2111092989 Hamburg DPA in German 0903 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Rudolf Seiters, minister of the Federal Chancellery, today met with the bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Gottfried Forck, and other church representatives. Seiters' agenda also included an exchange of opinion with representatives from the opposition movement "Democratic Departure," including Pastor Rainer Eppelmann and lawyer Wolfgang Schnur. [passage omitted]

The intra-German dialogue will be continued in about 2 weeks with a further visit to East Berlin by Seiters. The minister of the Federal Chancellery intends to fly back to Bonn this afternoon. There the press will also be briefed.

Seiters on Reform

LD2111131489 Hamburg DPA in German 1216 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Rudolf Seiters, minister of the Federal Chancellory, today paid visits to Gottfried Forck, Evangelical Bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, and Georg Sterzinsky, the Catholic bishop of Berlin, at the conclusion of his visit to East Berlin. At midday he met with representatives of the opposition group Democratic Departure, Pastor Rainer Eppelmann and lawyer Wolfgang Schnur, for an exchange of opinion.

It is new for a Bonn minister to conduct official talks with an opposition group, besides meeting with the GDR political leadership. An important topic during the meetings was the reform process in the GDR and the joint desire for a new electoral law that permits all political groups. Seiters also gave information about the election date for the end of 1990, which the GDR leadership had approved.

From the Evangelical side, it was said that during the talks between Seiters and Forck and other church representatives there was also discussion of the GDR Constitution, in which the Socialist Unity Party of Germany's [SED] right to leadership is established. This right to leadership must be dropped. During the meeting with Sterzinsky, who is also chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference, "the tasks which are resulting" from the present situation "for the two German states and churches" were the focal point. The Catholic Church stated this. During the meetings in East Berlin, State Secretary Franz Bertele was also present, as he was yesterday. [passage omitted]

In about 2 weeks the intra-German dialogue will continue with another visit to East Berlin by Seiters. The minister of the Federal Chancellory flew back to Bonn this afternoon.

At News Conference

LD2111130689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1217 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Rudolf Seiters, Federal Minister for Special Tasks and chief of the FRG Federal Chancellery, met with Dr Gottfried Forck, bishop of the Evangelical Church in Berlin- Brandenburg, the Bishop Georg Sterzinsky, chairman of the Berlin Bishops' Conference, and representatives from the "Democratic Departure" movement this morning in Berlin. It is important to speak to all those involved and to get information. The problems that must be overcome are immense, Rudolf Seiters stated to journalists at the FRG Permanent Mission in the GDR.

He will report to the Federal chancellor this afternoon and inform the Cabinet about his talks on Thursday. The exchange of opinion will be continued in Berlin shortly, Seiters said further. An exact date for this has not yet been arranged, but the meeting will take place very soon, for in order to make certain settlements it must happen quickly.

Visit Ends

LD2111145489 East Berlin ADN in English 1401 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Minister of Special Tasks and head of the FRG Chancellery Rudolf Seiters ended a two-day visit to the GDR on Friday [as received] and left for Bonn where he will inform Chancellor Kohl on the outcome of his Berlin talks.

No date had been fixed for a fresh round of talks with GDR leaders but it would have to be be held soon because some arrangements needed to be made quickly, Seiters told news reporters.

On Tuesday morning Seiters met Gottfried Forck, bishop of the evangelical diocese of Berlin Brandenburg, the head of the Berlin Bishops' Conference Georg Sterzinsky and representatives of the opposition group "Democratic Awakening."

On Monday Seiters had almost three hours of talks with GDR Socialist Unity Party general secretary and head of state Egon Krenz and Prime Minister Hans Modrow focusing on preparations for a GDR visit by FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and other matters.

Krenz Urges German Dialogue on Disarmament

LD2111084989 Hamburg DPA in German 0650 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Egon Krenz, chairman of the GDR Council of State, has called for an intra-German dialogue on disarmament. Krenz also expressed regret at the fact that during his meeting yesterday in East Berlin with Rudolf Seiters (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], Bonn's chief of the Federal Chancellery, the topic of disarmament had not been addressed. In an inteview with the Cologne newspaper EXPRESS, Krenz said that the problem not only had a military dimension but a social one as well. To quote Krenz's actual words: "The less one arms the more means one releases for social questions." Therefore, in his talks with Seiters, he also indicated that during the meeting between Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and GDR Premier Hans Modrow planned for December, disarmament questions would have to be discussed.

In reply to the question about the state of health of the deposed former SED general secretary [Erich Honecker], Krenz said that his predecessor was not in a position to answer questions at present. "His state of health is such that he cannot comment at the moment."

FRG Citizen Put on Trial for Espionage

LD2111093389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0809 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The public proceedings against the citizen of the FRG Peter Sch. began on Tuesday morning in the first military criminal bench of the military higher court in Berlin. The charge against him is espionage to the detriment of the interests of the GDR.

In the course of the 1st day of the trial the accused will be cross-examined on his personal background and on the accusations made. It is planned that a military expert will be questioned.

The investigations so far have shown that Sch. used his work as an inland shipping worker on the transit waterways of the GDR to reconnoiter military sites and equipment of the National People's Army and the western group of the USSR forces.

Gerlach Dismisses Talk of Reunification

LD2011182489 East Berlin ADN in English 1749 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"The unity of Germany is not on the agenda", the chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of the GDR Manfred Gerlach has stressed in talks with the secretary-general of the Italian Liberal Party Dr Renato Altissimo.

During the meeting here on Monday, Gerlach dismissed any talk of German re-unification and spoke out for the existence of two sovereign German states which he said should move towards each other while developing. He underlined that the GDR was strongly interested in extending relations with the EC.

Editorial Rejects German Reunification

AU2011184989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 89 p 2

[Thomas Muenstermann editorial: "Rejection? Yes, Rejection"]

[Text] FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE published an editorial headlined "Rejection of German Unity?" which says, among other things: "Those who know the GDR a bit, know that these things have always existed—pride in its own achievements; a certain spite toward the big, more successful brother; a certain dislike for the darker sides of the existence of this brother who is watched with suspicion: permissiveness, crime, drug problems, and, not least, unemployment." Thus FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE arrives at an initial conclusion. The "regime" in the GDR can be certain on one point: "It does not have to be concerned about the possible demand for abolishing the two-state status." The daily even brings itself to make concessions: "Nobody disputes the right of the Germans in the GDR to decide against state unity."

That describes the real situation relatively exactly. In the People's Chamber debates, some of which have been controversial, no demand has been made for reunification. FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE has criticized the position of opposition groups in the GDR. Its criticism is justified. Answering a question about reunification, Mrs. Bohley (New Forum) said in an interview with the French daily LE FIGARO: "No. That is a topic of election campaigns in West Germany. After 40 years, there are two different societies. The West German way of life is absolutely foreign to us.... What the FRG wants is a type of unification where it would impose its model. However, the East Germans do not want to get rid of 40 years of their history."

In the FRG itself, Foreign Minister Genscher cited the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG. Christian Democratic Union politician Lothar Spaeth warned about interfering in the GDR's developments, Social Democratic Party politician Henning Voscherau warned about any "rhetoric and talk on reunification," and West Berlin Mayor Walter Momper warned about an "attitude of occupation."

So, is the whole thing settled? Grotesquely, it is not, because FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE arrives at a second conclusion which reveals a logic that nobody understands: "If the Germans in the GDR want to change their fate, then they will need the patronage (!) of an all-German state." In other words, reunification—certainly also in the sense of those who dream of a German Reich in the borders of 1937. And the GDR under a patronage? Specifically, under whose patronage? We know too well which people in the FRG are very keen on it. We know it too well to hesitate to answer the question asked by FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE: Rejection? Yes, rejection.

FRG Politican Says Nation Owes GDR Billions

AU1711155389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Nov 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Bonn Owes GDR Billions"]

[Text] Bonn—Heide Pfarr, a politician of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], has said that the Federal Republic owes the other German state at least DM22 billion. According to the Bonn Parliamentary Press Service (PPP) on Tuesday [14 November], the Berlin (West) senator said that the GDR paid all the reparations to the Soviet Union. Heide Pfarr warned about maintaining the "attitude of a rich uncle" toward the GDR, and about linking Bonn's support to conditions. She said that it was now necessary to start communicating with the GDR on an equal basis. She added that the "openness of the other side" justified the hope that the problems that were developing now could be "managed" while the fact of two states was recognized.

The senator believes that elections in the very near future could destabilize the GDR internally. She said that people could take over who in their own words were not yet capable of holding a political office. Nobody would profit from such development, except those who wanted to have the GDR as a "bankrupt state" for reunification.

Border 'Provocation' Evidence Conveyed to FRG

AU2011164589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Conveys Evidence"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This week, the GDR prosecutor general conveyed comprehensive evidence on the major provocation at the border in Wahlhausen in Heiligenstadt Kreis over the night of 17-18 August 1989 to the prosecutor general in Frankfurt (Main).

On the night of the crime, well-aimed shots were fired from FRG territory at persons and buildings—including the Wahlhausen church—and the lives and health of inhabitants of the village and of GDR border troops were endangered. At the same time, the personal property of citizens and of the church community was damaged. The FRG judicial organs were asked again to ensure the speedy investigation and prosecution of this serious crime during the investigations that have been initiated in the FRG in the meantime.

Border Guards Watch as Soldier Defects

LD1511143389 Hamburg DPA in German
1409 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Coburg (DPA)—A 25-year-old soldier belonging to the GDR border troops climbed over the metal-lattice fence near Coburg today, watched by his patrol leader, and reported to the Bavarian border police after his escape. The officers reported that the man had been driving along a road near the fences in order to feed the watchdogs. He then left the squad and climbed over the fence. He reached Bavarian territory unharmed, in uniform but unarmed. The patrol stood idly by during the escape. "It wouldn't have been like that a few days ago," the border police said.

'Hooligans' Fleeing W. Berlin Police Expelled

LD1511141489 Hamburg DPA in German
1348 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (DPA)—Approximately 25 hooligans running from the police in the [West] Berlin district of Kreuzberg on Wednesday morning climbed over the wall into East Berlin. GDR frontier soldiers escorted them away from the wall after the hooligans stood on ladders throwing stones at West Berlin police officers. According to a police spokesman, the young people were expelled back to West Berlin via the Heinrich-Heine-Strasse sector crossing-point. [passage omitted]

Abuse of Cross-Border Traffic Noted

AU2111072589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Customs Officials Caught Smugglers Red-Handed"]

[Text] Berlin—It has been noted in the GDR for quite some time now that foreign tourists have bought masses of industrial goods and foodstuffs, which has increasingly created annoyance and concern among the people. In addition, cases became known where GDR citizens abused the new travel regulations for smuggling. The Press Office of the customs administration has informed ADN on additional attempts to exploit cross-border traffic for speculative actions. For instance, officials of the Frankfurt (Oder) customs office found and confiscated 49 items of children's textiles, 10 pairs of children's shoes, 15 gym shirts, 8 table cloths, 2 kilograms of sultanas, and 600 grams of pepper that a citizen of the Polish People's Republic who works in the GDR intended to smuggle.

A Romanian citizen was about to export illegally about 14 kilograms of ersatz coffee, 8 kilograms of pure coffee, 3 kilograms of cocoa powder, 6 kilograms of pepper, 40 bars of chocolate, 156 bags of peanuts, 45 bags of sugarcoated peanuts, 148 pieces of soap, 5 pairs of shoes, 23 items of children's textiles, and 8 items of knitted underwear—all bought in the GDR.

In the Drewitz customs clearance office, a GDR couple was caught with 12 second-hand bags and shoes worth more than M25,000, which were destined to be sold in West Berlin. Investigations have been initiated against the couple, who have been without employment for weeks.

Politburo Member Visits Border Crossing

LD2011211689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2023 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Wolfgang Herger, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber Commission for National Defense and member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo, met this evening at the border crossing point of Friedrich-Zimmerstrasse to Berlin (West) with serving members of the border troops, pass control, customs administration, and the People's Police. On average 20,000 GDR citizens, at the weekends 50,000 to 60,000, are now daily passing through Checkpoint Charlie.

Customs officer Dietrich Eckerd said that he shares the concern of many citizens that the GDR is being sold out and that its currency is being speculated with. The customs authorities daily register cases of foreign citizens trying to take out of the country subsidized GDR products banned from export, such as footwear, children's textiles, meat and sausage products, spices, and baking ingredients, he reported. Checks have shown that GDR citizens are mainly exporting national currency. The import of such things as narcotics must be prevented. A few days ago customs officers found a very small amount which a foreign citizen was trying to smuggle in an ashtray.

Citizens Allowed to Sail in Coastal Waters

LD1411122889 Hamburg DPA in German
1004 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Luebeck/Neustadt (DPA)—Sports and fishing boats from the GDR may now operate in the Baltic Sea also within the 12-nautical-mile zone claimed by the GDR. This observation was reported on Tuesday by the Federal Frontier Protection Force/Sea in Neustadt (Ostholstein district) on Tuesday in reply to an inquiry. Hitherto coastal waters were considered prohibited zones for GDR citizens. They were not even allowed to take a pedal boat to sea.

According to the Federal Frontier Protection Force/Sea, the GDR has thus apparently adjusted its stipulations for the sea to the new land stipulations. Thus, prohibited zones in the GDR area close to the border, which GDR citizens were until now prohibited from entering without a pass, have been lifted. [passage omitted]

8,626,047 Visas Issued 9-16 Nov

AU2111103089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "So Far 8.6 Million Visas Issued"]

[Text] The spokesman of the Interior Ministry has stated that, between 9 November and Thursday morning [16 November] the German People's Police had issued 8,626,047 visas for private trips, and 14,669 permits for permanent emigration from the GDR.

Sorbs Call for Nationalities' Analysis, Law

LD1711201389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1902 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Cottbus (ADN)—The national Executive of Domiwina (Federation of Lusatian Sorbs) issued a statement today stressing the need to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the current national situation of the Sorbs—the GDR's only ethnic minority. On the basis of this, a GDR nationalities law should be worked out and passed by the People's Chamber with basic principles and responsibilities as well as their examination being clearly fixed.

The Domiwana has not always fought for important Sorb issues with the necssary commitment. Political structures to date have also not permitted this. The national executive was holding its ninth session in Turnow [Cottbus] Bezirk [area] today.

Parliament Meets

LD2011130189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1215 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—The National Executive of the Domowina [Sorb parliament] met in Bautzen (Dresden Area [bezirk]) today for an extraordinary session. It will discuss the renewal of the organization.

Proposals are aimed at turning the Domowina into an independent, separate, and unified national organization of all Sorbs at a national congress in March 1990. Demands are being made for a change to electoral regulations and a new statute for the organization as well as the drafting of a GDR nationalities law by the People's Chamber.

About 100,000 Sorbs, the only national minority in the GDR, live in Cottbus and Dresden areas. The independent ethnic identity of the members of this west Slav people is guaranteed in the Constitution. In the GDR parliament, 8 Sorbs have seats and votes, and almost 2,400 are in local citizens' representations. A Sorb was appointed to the government in the form of Health Minister Prof Klaus Thielmann. [passage omitted]

Further on Sorbs

LD2111102289 East Berlin ADN in English 1010 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The official organisation of Sorbs, a people of Slavonic origin living in the southeastern part of the GDR, has called for a new nationalities policy which give them a genuine chance to save their ethnic and cultural identity as the country's sole national minority.

An extraordinary session of the executive of the Domowina—which officially represents the 100,000 Sorbs living in the GDR—in the town of Bautzen on Monday said efforts had to be redoubled in order to guarantee promotion of the Sorbian language and culture.

They pointed to the need for a law paying greater respect to Sorbs' needs, including their language and culture. Their legitimate demands, hopes and wishes had to be met with more sensitiveness and understanding, they said.

Equal rights for the Sorbian people in all spheres of life and the protection of their language and culture has been a part of official policy since the GDR was founded 40 years ago.

There are nine Sorbian-language schools and 85 schools running Sorb language classes, one daily newspaper, ten periodicals and a radio station. Ninety-eight mayors in the GDR are Sorbs.

This policy, however, was mainly administrative, focusing rather on external appearance like festivals and bilingual street signs, while increasingly lacking realistic analysis of living conditions in the Sorbs' region.

They said they were watching with particular concern the impact of large-scale open-cast lignite mining in their ancestral region, with villages being pulled down and close-knit communities disrupted, which gradually chipped away at the people's ethnical and cultural identity.

Defense Minister Ready To Talk With FRG

LD2011183489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1725 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Defense Minister Admiral Theodor Hoffman today reaffirmed the readiness to talk with the FRG defense minister, which had been expressed by his predecessor. He told the press that changes in the GDR have not resulted in any aggravation of military policy. Rather, there is a considerable likelihood that positive incentives for securing peace, detente, and disarmament in Europe will emanate from the process of renewal in the GDR. At the same time, however, it must be emphasized that there has as yet been no change in the ratio of military power in Europe, and that NATO's modernization program is continuing in the hope of military superiority.

The minister underlined the fact that reform of the military system announced by the People's Chamber is an essential component of renewal in the GDR. The process of democratization in the armed forces should be largely completed by the end of 1990. He announced that the concept for military reform will be submitted to the public in December. Questioned on community service, Hoffmann explained that a proposal on this will be submitted to the People's Chamber for decision in the very near future. In the districts, commissions are being set up to decide who should undertake this form of military service. The minister said that experiences in the allied armed forces and in civilian armies, including the FRG Federal Army, are being studied. He presumes, however, that most of the young men will continue to fulfill their basic military service.

At a conference of commanders today, the minister had stressed that the function of the National People's Army [NVA] will be redetermined with consideration for its alliance duties. The duty to account to the People's Chamber and the latter's duty of monitoring the armed forces demand a hitherto unfamiliar understanding of democracy among all cadres of the NPA, as well as a far-reaching transparency and openness in military matters.

Hoffman Interview

LD2011191389 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann by correspondent (Klaus Rehfeld) on 20 November—place not given]

[Text] [Announcer] The announced exclusive interview with the defense minister is now ready. Beforehand, a few words. On the one hand, the deployment readiness of the soliders is great. On the other hand, confidence in the leading forces of the party, the state, and the Army has decreased. On the one hand, the unity of people and Army is endangered, on the other hand there is a welcome for the restructuring of socialism in the Army as well. These are some aspects about which Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann spoke today clearly and unmistakeably at a commanders meeting. The fact that the vice admiral allowed journalists to take part in the discussions that have been closed to the public to date is a further pleasing sign of openness, that is, public access in the affairs of national defense. My colleague, (Klaus Rehfeld), spoke with Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann:

[Begin recording] [Hoffmann] For us, as members of the National People's Army [NVA], for the Defense Ministry, for the defense minister, the government statement of the prime minister is the starting point for our entire activity.

[(Rehfeld)] Does that mean that you take notice of it, or that you agree with its content?

[Hoffmann] I agree with the content as well and base my work on it.

[(Rehfeld)] New Forum, for example, demands, or offers the variant of 12 months' basic service. What are the prospects for this?

[Hoffman] I believe it will be essential that the Army fulfills its defense mission. The possibilities to regulate army service will depend on which manpower stocks we need in the armed forces. That is the starting point. Whether it is possible to reduce military service depends on the result of the Vienna negotiations, on the demographic development, that is, the starting size. If it were possible we would certainly check it, that is, we would work on it, whereby I can say that there is a reduction in military service in the People's Navy. The People's Navy had to set a different service period from that in the NVA. From next year the sailor in the People's Navy will serve 18 months and the NCO 3 years.

That means that from next year the period of service in the People's Navy will be the same as in the other arms of the services.

I can say here that we have already worked out the proposal for substitute civilian service. It will be put forward for decision-making very soon. Commissions will be formed in the kreise which will decide who will carry out this substitute service. But I would not like to say more at this moment.

[(Rehfeld)] Substitute civilian service is a step in the direction of defense justification, but the defense obligation remains. Does this mean that the democratization of the Army had to be forced through so that the Army is attractive and doesn't just exist by means of an obligation? The main stages and main means, concisely please, from the view point of time and content.

[Hoffmann] Er, for the democr...?

[(Rehfeld), interrupting] The reforms.

[Hoffmann] Yes, we see it like this. We will work out the concept of military reform in December. We will submit to the public for discussion so that we will maybe be in a position in January or February to work out the specific program. In this program there will certainly be short-term measures. Maybe there will be decisions so that some proposals will not need to be worked out in this program because we will introduce them beforehand. I believe that the main part of the measures will be realized at the end of 1990. That means after the conclusion of the training year, if we restructure ourselves. Much must be thought through.

Referring to democratization, I would like to establish here that the principle of individual leadership of the Army and of troop units will be based on collective discussions, because that has proven itself. An army, in particular at the present state of science and technology, must be based on regulations and orders, which however are discussed thoroughly beforehand with those who have to fulfill them and who have to carry them out. I believe that the life of the Army will orient itself to the development of democracy in our republic. All are called upon to address the people,.

[(Rehfeld)] You stress here a public discussion of the military reform, but what are the prospects for public discussion of the military doctrine?

[Hoffmann] The military doctrine will be submitted very soon to the People's Chamber for public discussion. I see the questions of military legislation, but I also see the questions of disarmament and all these problems, which cannot be solved solely by the NVA. Decisions are needed from the highest people's representation and from the government. I believe there will be real clarity here, which will in fact help us in fulfilling our tasks. I believe it will strengthen in all the NVA's position.

[(Rehfeld)] Are you interested then in a meeting with FRG Defense Minister Stoltenberg?

[Hoffmann] Maybe I must say first on this subject that the offer of talks is still on the table.

[(Rehfeld)] Yes, but not an invitation.

[Hoffmann] Not an invitation. Well, my predecessor, Comrade General Kessler expressed his willingness to have a meeting with the FRG Defense Minister, either here or there. This offer still stands. That is point no. 1.

Now, point no. 2: I believe that it would be good if there is a meeting because the two German states have a great responsibility for the preservation of peace, lying as they do on the dividing line. I believe at the appropriate time there will be a decision on this. I want to say this again: I belong to this new government, and certainly Comrade Modrow, at the talks he will be having, will raise certain topics.

[(Rehfeld)] So you are going to wait and see, or will you be really be pushing for a meeting with Stoltenberg?

[Hoffmann] Well, now, you see I have been in office for 2 days. If you ask me again in a week's time, then I'll be able to give a more specific answer.

[(Rehfeld)] Are you having difficulties in formulating a world without weapons, a peace without weapons?

[Hoffmann] Well, I would not have any difficulty with this. But I have to say that it does not just depend on us. [end recording]

Military Aviation To Reduce Noise Disturbance

LD1511114289 East Berlin ADN in English 1048 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Defence Ministry and the group of Soviet armed forces stationed in the GDR have agreed to reduce noise disturbance by military flights as from now.

There will be no flights on Sundays and holidays and those on Saturdays will be limited to fixed hours.

Maleuda Says Trial of Honecker Possible

LD2011194189 Hamburg DPA in German 1800 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—GDR People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda thinks there is a possibility of public trials against the ousted former state and party leader Erich Honecker and economic expert Guenter Mittag. After a public debate in the People's Chamber he could not rule out such trials, said Maleuda, who is also chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party (DBD).

In an interview in the Bonn daily DIE WELT (Tuesday edition), the head of the DBD, who has two ministerial posts in the coalition government of Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers, stressed that beforehand "the Party Control Commission of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee quite irrespective of personalities" will be dealing with violations of the law. The committee appointed by the People's Chamber will concern itself with issues relating to abuse of office, corruption, and personal enrichment. "This will not be dealt with behind closed doors." The People's Chamber Presidium will keep tight control of this.

An edited version of the interview was supplied to DPA in advance.

Maleuda Views People's Chamber Tasks

AU1711153389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Guenther Maleuda, newly elected president of the GDR People's Chamber, by unidentified NEUES DEUTSHCLAND reporter during a break of the People's Chamber session: "Regain Confidence Through Closeness to the People"—in East Berlin on 13 November]

[Text] ND: Cordial congratulations on your election. Where do you see the future emphasis of your work?

Maleuda: I would like to stress four points. First, we have to work very intensively to change the GDR People's Chamber into a real chamber of the people. That will be done largely by including the citizens of our country. We must succeed soon in making sure that the people's will is reflected in the work of the committees and plenary meetings. The second important task will be to form a government soon to make our country governable. Third, we must succeed in starting work on a broad basis regarding the planned legislation and the implementation of urgently necessary laws. The parties, mass organizations, and citizens' movements have proposed very concrete objectives, including on drafting an election law and a media law. Fourth, general bases must be created for democracy which will have to backed and shaped by the people. The People's Chamber deputies must make an effort in the near future to regain lost confidence through considerable closeness to the people.

ND: Several candidates were on the list. What do you think about that?

Maleuda: That is a step in the right direction. We have thereby created initial prerequisites for a trusting relationship in the People's Chamber, and between the People's Chamber and the citizens. I thank the deputies who voted for me for their great confidence. I am also asking those deputies who decided differently in the ballot to support me and the People's Chamber Presidium in our work, so that we can jointly tackle the big tasks that we are facing.

ND: What prospects do you see for the People's Chamber's international work?

Maleuda: That would be another aspect that I would like to stress. With the basic improvement of our parliament's work, I see new and important tasks developing regarding cooperation with parliaments throughout the world. We had a certain degree of cooperation; however, the changed contents of our work is also confronting us with new challenges.

ND: What expectations are there regarding the media?

Maleuda: I would say that I like the media. We should not look backward in this respect. A development has set in in media work, which should now be shaped in good quality. The entire People's Chamber Presidium backs this.

ND: How public will the work of the newly to-be-established People's Chamber commissions be?

Maleuda: I think that all commissions will be public, and with this plenary meeting today, we are also going through a lesson on what idea we have about media policy.

Rectors Adopt Statement on Restructuring

LD1611174289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1644 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—During a meeting in Berlin today, rectors of 53 universities and colleges in the GDR and all members of the council of the Ministry of Higher Education and Vocational Training endorsed a statement published on 12 November by rectors and council members on the academic institutions meeting their joint responsibility for the removal of socialist society. During the meeting the participants spoke in favor of continuing the current restructuring in higher education on the basis of a higher educational reform within the framework of a reform of education in general. The discussion centered on how, based on a concrete assessment of the situation, ideas and proposals can be brought into a comprehensive debate on democratization and the future shape and effectivity of higher education and be made viable for society. Working groups will be set up for this.

New Forum Leader Discusses Reunification

LD1311093489 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 0903 GMT 13 Nov 89

[Text] The reunification of Germany would be "a kick in the stomach" for Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and the USSR, the leader of the East German opposition group New Forum said today.

Professor Jens Reich said East Germany should not make any immediate moves to leave the Eastern bloc. He told BBC Radio 4's "Today" programme: "We have to stay in the Eastern bloc for some time to come until the European questions are settled in a global way."

On uniting the two Germanys, he added: "This would simply be a blow, a kick in the stomach of Gorbachev and of the Soviet Union."

New Forum, formed as an opposition group in September, is pressing for free and democratic elections in East Germany. But Professor Reich told "Today" the group was not yet ready for an election campaign. "I think there is a lot of work to be done in order to be prepared," he said.

Asked what sort of politics East Germany should pursue in the future, Professor Reich was clear it should maintain its socialist tradition. "I think the majority of our followers are against a capitalist society. They would prefer to have our socialist building reconstructed, reformed, in a way that is acceptable to the majority of the population," he said.

New Forum Cofounder on Free Elections

PM2011122289 Paris LIBERATION in French 13 Nov 89 pp 10-11

[Interview with GDR New Forum cofounder Reinhard Schult by Pascale Hugues —date and place not given]

[Text] LIBERATION: The wall came down this weekend, but the democratization process started in the GDR is continuing with the promise of free democratic elections. Is the opposition ready to fight?

Reinhard Schult: No, we are not ready. It is impossible for us to draw up a program and organize overnight. The party still has a strong and structured apparatus. We need time. In Poland, it took Solidarity years to successfully make a real challenge to the regime. Everything now depends on the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. It must give new practical signals. In the new Politburo, there are still many old faces, people who have been there for 20 years and who are responsible for past policy. Hans Modrow is a figure who has been largely shaped by the press. People in Dresden are much more cautious. We must see what he does.

LIBERATION: New Forum's application for registration was received last week. According to the procedure, your movement has 3 months to submit a program before being finally legalized. Will New Forum become a full political party?

Reinhard Schult: No, we do not want to be a party. We have lived for 40 years under the cloak of a hard-line party and the people no longer want that kind of discipline. New Forum has received more than 200,000 signatures from supporters from various backgrounds. We want to maintain our status as an association which will also enable us to stand in the elections. Too many people are excluded from a party, the program is too narrow, and we would be in danger of creating a Hungarian-style situation in East Germany—a whole string of little parties squabbling among themselves. We do not want that.

LIBERATION: What are your other demands?

Reinhard Schult: We first want to have the means to take action. We want an independent and national newspaper. We want access to television and radio. Ultimately, the priorities are also free elections to parliament and new local council elections to restore a balance after last May's rigged vote. The SED will have to give up its monopoly and change its role. Many other crucial questions have not yet been settled. We are still demanding the right to demonstrate, the right of association, a general amnesty for all political prisoners, and rapid reforms of the education system.

LIBERATION: The most worrying problem, the one which primarily affects people's lives and which prompted this summer's exodus, is the East German economic crisis. Is New Forum proposing a specific action program?

Reinhard Schult: The problem of the economy is primarily a political question. We have very little information, and very few figures and reliable statistics enabling us to establish what the position is. Without accurate information, it is impossible for us to put forward solutions. What is certain, is that subsidies from the FRG and a transition to capitalism are not answers to the GDR's problems.

LIBERATION: What about the reunification of the two Germanies?

Reinhard Schult: This subject is not on the agenda. We must first solve the problems inside the GDR.

Editorial Questions SED Leadership Role

AU1411130389 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 10 Nov 89 p 2

[Matthias Schlegel editorial: "Is the Leadership Claim Still Up-to-Date?"]

[Text] It is true, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has started moving; or, putting it more correctly, it has been made to move.

Egon Krenz's speech for the first time contains a comprehensive, remarkably brutal assessment of past mistakes, and at the same time an interesting description of the state and crisis of the leadership during the decisive days and weeks around the 40th anniversary (why not at the Ninth Plenum?). An over-aged Politburo has been replaced by a leading body which, even though it is not much younger, allegedly has "the necessary energy and determination" (Schabowski). Impatient party members willing to bring about a renewal force the party chief and the chief of information to leave the Central Committee meeting to take part in a demonstration in front of the Central Committee building. A comprehensive action program is submitted to the party grass roots for discussion. In the evening, 45 minutes behind schedule, Guenter Schabowski—who is exhausted and possibly for this reason not very convincing—gives a 1-hour news conference to about 200 national and foreign journalists on the beginning of the plenum. All this in one day.

Nonetheless, for all the obvious efforts for change, and despite the numerous constructive ideas in Egon Krenz's speech, the statements remain vague and half-hearted on a very decisive point: the SED's leadership claim. In all the demonstrations and dialogues in the country, by which the people have reconquered the public platform to which they are entitled, the demand that the SED give up its leadership claim—which is also represented by many comrades —ranks first.

Undoubtedly, this demand of the citizens results from three factors—the significant mistakes that were made under this party's leadership to the detriment of our country, the drastic loss of confidence resulting in particular from the arrogant and commanding way in which the party has imposed its policy, and the concern that, if this leadership claim is maintained, the potential of the democratic grass roots which has touched off the change and represents our hopes for the future may not be able to bring its influence to bear, and that, consequently, genuine renewal may be prevented.

Egon Krenz said in his speech that the future political system of socialism had to be such as to allow "the party to represent its leadership claim by the highest possible claim to itself" [sentence as published]. At his news conference, Guenter Schabowski did not make the matter any clearer when he said that terms such as "leadership role, leadership claim, and the SED's arrogation of leadership" had first to be defined. He deduced the party's responsibility and role in renewal from its historic development, and admitted that the SED had to face the tests, the demands, and the criticism of the people and the partners in the bloc parties. Schabowski did not call Article 1 of the GDR Constitution into question in which this leadership role is enshrined.

Undoubtedly, the practice will in future be the criterion of the truth regarding this matter as well. In his speech Krenz hinted that the SED and the people are not identical—as was always stressed formerly. The Christian Democratic Union and many other social forces demand general, free, equal, and secret elections on the basis of a really democratic election law as soon as possible. Perhaps problems of hegemony will then be resolved anyway solely by way of percentages of votes, the number of seats, the success of the best arguments, and the implementation of the most convincing programs. Not perhaps —hopefully!

Church Official Wishes Success for Reform

LD1111103989 East Berlin ADN in English 0955 GMT 11 Nov 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A leading GDR church official has said he hopes that the "dramatic process" in the German Democratic Republic will be successful.

Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders in the GDR, told NEUES DEUTSCHLAND daily on Saturday [11 November] that the process of renewal was meeting with great interest and respect also outside the GDR.

He was expecting the future to bring radical political changes "which restructure our country so that everybody will feel well in it." It was the most important task of the church at present, Stolpe said, to work for nonviolence in this far-reaching processes of change and support talks between the different social groups.

Stople clearly pleaded for the GDR's sticking to socialist positions. From talks at the World Council of Churches in Geneva he knew that it was the alternative consideration of a socialist model of society which was of special importance just for the representatives of developing countries, a model in which the needs of the people had priority over the striving for profits.

Stolpe Discusses Changes, Emigration

AU1911155389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 p 4

[Interview with Consistorial President Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church Directorates in the GDR, by Guenter Fleischmann: "Hope, Dialogue, Consensus"—date and place not given]

[Text] Fleischmann: Millions of people have voiced their opinions in the dialogue on the renewal of the socialist society in the GDR. What are your hopes following the many demonstrations, expressions of opinions, and now during the session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED].

Stolpe: We are experiencing something like a democratic revolution, a process that has been followed with great interest and respect even from outside the GDR. Today my hope is that this dramatic process is successful and helps bring about fundamental political and economic changes that shape our country in such a way that all who live here like it here. I am convinced that the consequences of 4 and 8 November have increased the chances for it, because on 4 November we witnessed an extraordinarily impressive, nonviolent, and disciplined demonstration, which has changed the political landscape; and on 8 November we witnessed an unprecedented expression of the readiness for change on the part of the SED, which has brought further decisive changes of the political landscape.

Fleischmann: Where do the Evangelical Churches perceive their position in this process?

Stolpe: The churches do not have tasks that are primarily political. Nevertheless, the Christian faith involves us in all spheres of life. This is why we are participating in the current process in our country with our thoughts, hopes, and prayers. Right now, we consider it our main task to advocate the principle of nonviolence in the critical processes of change, and to support dialogue between the differing positions. The right thing to do will be to try and find a balance of interests and a consensus for our common future, which is only possible through dialogue. To promote this dialogue is also a task of the church.

Fleischmann: All thoughts are geared toward great changes. Should we rush decisions or consider them very carefully?

Stolpe: I perceive this in a differentiated way. Convincing signals of change, including specific times for certain objectives, as well as measures that the people can experience immediately must rapidly be initiated. This means, for example, that the statements concerning the chances and the necessity to hold free and secret elections should be followed by concrete announcements. I could imagine, for example, that an exact timetable is drawn up, which would emphasize that the readiness for change is serious. The project of the future shape of our political and economic order must be considered thoroughly, most thoroughly. In this context, it will be necessary to benefit from the ideas of many people in order to attain a model that is largely convincing. In this connection I also believe that, in the medium term, it is necessary to initiate a debate on the Constitution, a debate in which one should try to cooperate and shape the structure of an antifascist, democratic, law-governed, and socialist GDR.

Fleischmann: Egon Krenz has talked about the realistic vision of the future of socialism. Do you support this?

Stolpe: At the World Church Council in Geneva I was urgently asked whether there is a danger that in the GDR the socialist positions of social justice and social equality would be sacrificed too quickly and replaced by the guidelines of the market economy. Especially for representatives of the developing countries, the alternative concept of a socialist social model, where the needs of the people are given priority over the striving for profit, obviously plays an important role. One of the leading representatives asked me in this respect, and I quote: "If you no longer try to implement a social alternative you will deprive us of our hope." I am convinced that the failure of a bureaucratic socialism makes it absolutely necessary to develop a more convincing model for mankind's age-old desire for justice, equality, and freedom.

Fleischmann: Many people continue to abandon the GDR—which is the sharpest form of criticism. What would you like to tell those people?

Stolpe: The continuing mass exodus is depressing. Since the fifties, the church has always urgently requested the people to act responsibly also toward their neighbors, and to take their God-given place serious. I would like to add another concern: I have talked to people who wanted to leave our country for many years. I have observed with concern how fast such decisions to leave were made and how many illusions there existed in many cases. Thus, I can only sincerely and urgently appeal to the people: Please think twice before you make a decision for the future that affects you, your fellow countrymen, and also your children! Better material conditions are only one part of life. Talk about your plans with persons of your confidence, such as priests, for instance, before you take a step that is difficult to reverse.

State Council Thanks Citizens for Letters

AU1411162089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Information of the State Council"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The press office of the GDR State Council conveyed the following information to ADN on Thursday [9 November]:

Every day numerous citizens, collectives, and other bodies from all social spheres turn to the State Council and its chairman with letters, statements, and resolutions. The majority of the letters is characterized by the feeling of joint responsibility for changes. Concern about the further social development in the GDR, but also criticism and protests, are expressed in them. All considerations, opinions, criticism, and proposals are recorded and included in the preparations for the decisions to be made.

In this way, the State Council wants to convey thanks for all of the letters. At the same time, it asks for understanding that at present not every letter can be answered in writing. The large number of petitions with which the citizens, who ask for support and help in clearing up various political affairs, still turn to the State Council and its chairman continue to be handled on the basis of the respective legal regulations.

Marcus Wolf Views Causes of Changes

PM1611113689 Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 10 Nov 89 p 10

[Report on undated interview with former GDR intelligence chief Marcus Wolf by Lars-Gunnar Larsson: "Don't Scrap the Socialist Unity Party"]

[Text] East Berlin—"No, it is not time to scrap the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], as the Western media are fond of suggesting. There is enormous strength among the 2.3 million members (even though 30,000 have left or been expelled this year). But the many intelligent, able, and sensible people have for too long been prevented from developing and assuming responsibility.

"And do not forget that the healthy nucleus in the party has made a major contribution to the changes we are seeing now."

Marcus Wolf, who told HUFVUDSTADSBLADET this, is himself a member of the SED. Wolf is a former spy chief, dismissed for his open sympathies for Gorbachev, and is nowadays a writer. But above all he is one of the most important "secret" powerful men in today's seething and changeable GDR.

"Yes, that is perhaps true. I must admit that despite the fact that officially I am a pensioner, I have never been kept so busy with politics as now," Wolf said.

According to Wolf, the internal criticism within the SED is one of the driving forces behind the upheavals in the GDR. The others are the "pressure from the streets" and the opposition from the intellectuals. The intellectuals' opposition has been going on for longer than it may seem. It by no means began with the 7 October change of regime.

"The intellectuals have always voiced criticism, though they have done so guardedly."

The clearest sign of this is the reading of books on the East German subways. During the time when the newspapers were full of empty rhetoric people looked for truth in literature.

"I myself was surprised and touched by the response to my book, 'Troika,'" Marcus Wolf said.

And in the current upheaval Wolf has perhaps the most central position of all. He stands between the new leadership—which nevertheless belongs to the old guard—and the uncoordinated opposition. This was shown by the fact that Wolf was the only speaker at Saturday's million-strong demonstration at Alexanderplatz in the heart of East Berlin to meet with both cheers and jeers.

Of the Politburo's new look Wolf said:

"It is an important change. I cannot comment on whether it is enough."

However, it is apparent from his comments on the media situation that Wolf by no means considers the changes to be enough.

"In a way it is fantastic the way journalists can now write about things which they were forced to keep silent about in the past."

But many of the Stalinist propaganda makers are still in their posts. Can this situation continue?

"No, I do not think so."

According to Marcus Wolf, it is impossible to stop the tide of refugees to the West.

"The panic flight has no objective base. But people will continue to leave this country, for simple economic reasons. Some will come back perhaps; we already have a small stream of people returning.

"What is needed is that we get production moving. It will take a long time before there are radical improvement in the economic situation. But we have to start now. We have no alternative."

Editorial Emphasizes Necessity for Renewal

AU1711092889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 89 p 2

[Editorial by Hajo Herbell: "Enough Courage to Say the Truth, and a Future-Oriented Attitude"]

[Text] The party is up to it. This has been proved by the 10th session of the Central Committee, which is also discussing the action program "Steps for Renewal." This has also been proved by the keen reactions from party organizations all over the country. The outlines of what the party leadership has proposed assumed a clear form in the speech Egon Krenz delivered on Wednesday [9 November].

Everybody can read it for himself and form his own opinion. Many comrades will receive and discuss it as a statement that has been expected for a long time and that was overdue.

The speech by Egon Krenz, which he wants to be regarded as a first contribution to the discussion at the 10th session, is characterized by a critical and self-critical, realistic and constructive approach. Following the long period of speechlessness and inability to act, following initial signs at the Ninth Central Committee session, it has a liberating effect on many comrades, and maybe not only on them.

This is probably a result of the fact that an answer was provided to the following questions: What has caused the current critical state of our society? What is the reason for the bitter truth, namely that our party has lost so much confidence and that, within the party itself, the relationship of trust between the "grass-roots level" of the party and its "top" has been disrupted?

It was and still is impossible to draw up constructive solutions for further promoting the process of revolutionary renewal which was initiated by the people themselves, the citizens, and the basic organizations of our party, without an open discussion of the causes and effects of the current situation. Practical steps have been proposed to implement renewal in all spheres, for economic reform, for more democracy, and for conditions that make it impossible to return to the old times.

Even our party must, wants to, and will renew itself in the process of renewal. It is the declared objective to achieve an SED that is strong, ready to act, and imbued with a new democratic self-assuredness. We will be able to prove that we are the leading political force only through democratic and scientific efforts for the solution of problems, through convincing social concepts, the ability to learn through dialogue with all social forces, competence, and the hard and honest work of all comrades.

All this is a challenge for all members of our party. In particular, it is an encouragement in the present time, when we must implement the revolutionary restructuring of our society to create guarantees for more socialism through more democracy. We have to do this together with all those that want a change for the better for our country and its citizens.

Prosecutor Proposes Invalidation of Sentences

AU2111103289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Invalidation of Janka Sentence Proposed"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—As the press office of the GDR prosecutor general told ADN on Wednesday [15 November], the GDR prosecutor general proposed to the Presidium of the GDR Supreme Court that it permit the invalidation of the sentences against Walter Janka and others, which were passed in 1957 for political crimes, for the benefit of the convicted persons.

Krenz Congratulates Angola on Independence Day

AU1511091689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Nov 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "GDR Greetings on Angolan Independence Day"]

[Text] On the 14th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the People's Republic of Angola, Egon Krenz conveyed a congratulatory telegram to Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] Labor Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola. It expresses the wish that the great efforts of the Angolan people under the leadership of the MPLA Labor Party to settle the conflicts in southern Africa and its committed work for the settlement of the armed conflicts in Angola and for national unity are an important contribution to peace and detente.

Egon Krenz stated with satisfaction that the trusting and friendly relations between the two parties, states, and peoples in the joint struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress are being developed and deepened in various ways on the basis of the treaty on friendship and cooperation.

National Bank President on Bush Aid Veto

LD2011221789 Budapest MTI in English
1601 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 20, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary's economic and financial leaders have expressed little surprise at the news of President Bush's veto of a bill passed by both the Senate and House of Representatives on a 15 billion USD international aid programme, which includes 91.5 million usd for Hungary and 846.5 million USD for Poland over three years.

According to Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary (MNB), Hungary has grown accustomed to the fits and starts of the congressional process.

Mr Bartha told MTI-ECONEWS that in no way did Hungary see the veto as levelled against the Hungarian or Polish part of the aid programme. According to foreign news reports, the programme was stalled over the president's misgiving about a 15 million USD grant to China.

"We are convinced that sooner or later the American aid programme will be approved", Mr Bartha said.

General Electric Takes Over Half of Tungsram

AU2011165989 Budapest MTI in English
1754 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 15 Nov (MTI)—General Electric of the United States and the Budapest-based Tungsram Company, Ltd., have simultaneously announced the largest post-war business investment in Hungary by a western company.

Under the terms of a joint venture agreement negotiated with the Hungarian Credit Bank, GE Lighting will purchase 50 percent, plus one share, of Tungsram for 150 million US dollars, and will assume management of the venture. The majority of these shares were owned by the Austrian Girocentrale Bank, and were purchased one year ago for 110 million dollars. GE also has the option to purchase up to an additional 20 percent in the future with the condition that it accept the obligation of doubling the partnership's West European turnover within a five-year period.

GE Chairman John T. Welch said, 'The joint venture was made possible by the Hungarian Government's policy of encouraging foreign investment and looking to world markets'.

Andras Gabor, president of Tungsram, stressed Hungary was on its way to democracy and the development of a free enterprise system, and there was no going back on this road.

Tungsram is one of Hungary's largest industrial companies, with 12 manufacturing plants. The annual sales in hard currency total some 300 million dollars, and 85 per cent of products are marketed abroad. The two partner companies plan to combine their European lighting distribution organizations into one unit to distribute both GE and Tungsram products.

The joint venture will manufacture and sell products ranging from household lamps and energy-saving fluorescent products to high- technology discharge lamps. In addition, it will manufacture a full range of vehicle lamps and a number of special lamp types ranging from miniature halogen lamps to infrared quartz lamps. The Cleveland-based GE lighting will assist Tungsram in expanding its product line offerings.

The large-scale transaction is expected to close by the end of 1989, following negotiation of definitive agreements and appropriate government reviews.

EC Officials Delors, Dumas Visit, Hold Talks

Delors Comments on Aid, Visit

LD1711212589 Budapest MTI in English
0856 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Brussels, November 17 (MTI)—'We seek totally new solutions in the monetary, financial and economic aspect of granting short and long-term support to Hungary and Poland. We wish to prove that the EEC feels solidarity with the endevours of the Hungarian and Polish people. The EEC plans to survey the situations in the two countries with responsible leaders and discuss the form of help they request and they way to increase cooperation,' said Jacques Delors, chairman of the EEC committee in charge of granting aid to Hungary and Poland. M. Delors plans to pay a visit to Budapest and Warsaw on Friday and Saturday respectively. [17 and 18 November].

M. Delors, who granted an interview to MTI and PAP news agencies before his visit, stressed that 'the EEC officials were well aware of the difficulties the Hungarians and Polish have to cope with. Budapest and Warsaw have embarked on their own road towards greater freedom, and hopefully, towards an economic renewal and social security. I think that the success of political reform is in close correlation with the modernization of the economy. [no closing quote as received]

In his answers to questions put by the two correspondents, M. Delors denied that the EEC would want to lock the gates after 1992, and stressed that the European community wished to increase its chances in the competition with the United States and Japan. The rumour about shutting the doors is spread by its opponents.

To the question whether in the run-up to 1992, EEC plans will be influenced by the events going on in Eastern Europe, with special regard to the recent developments in the GDR, M. Delors said the following things: 'The EEC is sticking to its own course leading towards economic and political union, and this cannot be influenced by external events. In future, too, we'll be able to coordinate our internal objectives with the expansion of cooperation with other countries of Europe.'

Begin Visit

LD1711213889 Budapest MTI in English 1101 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—On Friday [17 November] the first working day of their visit to Hungary, minister of State M. Roland Dumas, minister of foreign affairs of the French Republic and current president of the European Community Council, and M. Jacques Delors, chairman of the commission of the European Community, started talks in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

They told Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, that their present visit was aimed at surveying the situation in Hungary and evaluating the reform processes. Next week, the EC finance ministers and the leaders of central banks will hold a conference on the Hungarian and Polish financial situation.

Mr Horn told his guests that the transformation of the Hungarian political system was getting near its conclusion. About 80-90 percent of the laws aimed at guaranteeing the establishment of a constitutional state have been passed. The process will cumulate in the election of the president of the Republic and the parliamentary elections.

Touching upon the international implications of Hungarian processes, Mr Horn pointed out that the reform under way in the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries had a favourable effect on Hungarian developments.

Speaking about the Hungarian transformation, the foreign minister pointed out that in comparison with the pace of political reform, economic change is much slower. The causes include the fact that the remnants of the former econmic management still linger on, and that the government has inherited much grimmer economic difficulties than anyone would have supposed. The government feels that in this bad situation, it has to undertake unpopular measures as well.

Mr Horn reiterated Hungary's request for support from the West to tackle the problems, and its great appreciation of the initiatives launched by the organizations of the West European integration in this field. Mr Horn also provided a more detailed briefing on the forms of assistance Hungary expects from the West.

He added that the Hungarian Government would continue to steadily expand relations based on agreements with the various organizations of the European integration, from the Council of Europe to EFTA. [European Free Trade Association]

Nemeth Recounts Talks

LD1811100789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Jacques Delors, chairman of the European Community Committee, and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, who is also chairman of the Council of Ministers of the European Community, are spending precisely 26 hours in Budapest. In this short time the two West European politicians will have conducted nine discussions. They have also met with opposition representatives.

Premier Miklos Nemeth was among the participants in an international news conference held in the Parliament building, where he made a brief introductory statement:

[Begin Nemeth recording] We have agreed on the implementation and acceleration of our cooperation agreement. In the course of this we proposed that we should also place them on new foundations, so that as soon as possible we should conclude an asymmetrical free trade agreement with the community, and that we should expand our cooperation in agriculture, environmental protection, culture, education, science, and technology.

We ascribe great significance to developing regular political dialogue with the Community Council, the European Parliament, the committees, and also the various committees and factions. [end recording]

He also mentioned that we await concrete help in the framework of the ever wider cooperation for changing the economic system—help which would make this irreversible. [passage omitted]

We follow with solidarity and friendship the changes in Hungary, said renowned economist Jacques Delors, the highest-ranking official of the European Community. He mentioned that from Miklos Nemeth he received a package of proposals which he will support at the discussions he is to hold with the Community's leaders and institutions. The observation is very important that he will propose the expansion of cooperation and joint venture agreements. He concluded his words by saying that Europe is in motion; the European Community cannot monopolize Europe; Budapest and Warsaw also belong to the continent.

In answer to questions, Foreign Minister Dumas said that at the Paris summit tomorrow they will jointly examine the possibility of Hungary getting special status in the EEC. At the same time, he described as unfounded the notion that the GDR could be a member of the economic community, since at present it belongs to a military organization.

Our discussions with the IMF also figured in the talks. In this connection they said that their prior objective is to obtain information. Questions relating to this were put, and impressively open answers were received.

After the news conference, Archbishop Paskai received the guests; later they are to meet with Imre Pozsgay, and the two West European politicians are to leave Budapest tonight for the Polish capital.

Meet Party Figures

LD1811101789 Budapest MTI in English 2106 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—On Friday, state minister Roland Dumas, foreign minister of the French Republic, current president of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities, and Jacques Delors, chairman of the EC Commission, met in the morning Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, in the parliament building, Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, at the party headquarters, Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and representatives of the Alliance of Free Democrats.

In the afternoon the two politicians held talks with Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Leave for Warsaw

LD1811101389 Budapest MTI in English 2127 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—After concluding their visit to Budapest, State Minister Roland Dumas, foreign minister of the French Republic, current president of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities, and Jacques Delors, chairman of the EC Commission, left for Warsaw Friday evening.

Cooperation Requests Issued to EC, EFTA

LD1811054989 Budapest MTI in English 1348 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Government has sent a list of requests to the 24 industrial countries participating in Action Phare, [as received] organized by the EC Commission, to suggest how those countries could assist the Hungarian reforms.

The document says Hungary's foreign financing requirement will be between 2.7 and 3.1 billion dollars in the next three years. The government believes that with efficient cooperation on the part of international financial institutions and foreign commercial banks, the money can probably be raised without the country's having to ask for a general debt relief. Effective help from Western governments is, however, seen as indispensible.

The government expects to borrow around 650-700 million USD [U.S. dollars] from the IMF and the World Bank, about 1 billion USD from foreign bond markets, and the remaining amount should come from consortial and commerical loans and foreign capital involvement.

The Hungarian Government is convinced that substantial improvement of the Western market access of Hungarian products is the first and foremost condition for creating a market economy in Hungary within a reasonable space of time. The Hungarian economy should, therefore, find the shortest route of integrating into the advanced market economies, and those of Western Europe, in the first place.

Hungary wishes to make temporary free trade agreements with the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries and the European Communities, and these, it is hoped, will pave the way for the formation of a free-trade zone. Hungary would like these agreements to cover agriculture, as well.

The Hungarian Government moves to persuade the EC not to regard Hungary as a state-controlled trading nation any longer, but a proper market economy.

Hungary would like to see the EC ease the export control and licensing procedures of products and technology destined for Hungary. In return, the Hungarian Government is ready to give guarantees concerning the eventual use of such products and technology.

Hungary requests the EC and EFTA to extend the GSP [Generalized System of Preferences] to a wide range of products. Under an agricultural agreement, the EC could grant special customs and levy reductions on Hungarian imports.

The Hungarian Government also intends opening talks with the EFTA countries on facilitating the market access of its agricultural products.

Hungary is interested in participating in the EC's Polish food aid programme.

Genscher To Visit, Sign Credit Agreement

LD2011155489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] West German Foreign Minister Genscher is to arrive in Budapest on 23 November to participate in the signing of a half-billion mark credit agreement, for which the FRG Government has given a governmental guarantee.

Nemeth, Kohl Discuss Economic Cooperation

LD2011174389 Budapest MTI in English 1559 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Bonn, November 20 (MTI)—Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Miklos Nemeth, Hungarian prime minister, held intensive talks for some hours in the chancellor's residence in Ludwigshafen Sunday night, a spokesman of the Bonn government said on Monday.

The talks termed as very friendly focussed on the development of economic cooperation and bilateral ties. The two prime ministers discussed the topical developments in eastern and south-eastern Europe and, in general, in East-West relations. The federal chancellor informed the Hungarian prime minister of the Paris summit of the heads of state and government of the 12 member countries of the European Communities held the previous evening. The sides agreed that the developments have reached a crucial phase all over Europe and requires more intensive political and economic cooperation between East and West.

Romanians Continue To Hinder Border Crossings

LD2011160589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] It continues to be difficult to cross from Hungary into Romania. The Romanian border guard has further slowed down the administration, which was not proceeding smoothly anyway.

According to information given by the Budapest Interior Ministry, since Friday, almost 1,500 out of 9,500 travellers were sent back to Hungary from the Romanian border without any justification.

Defense Minister Pays Return Visit to CSSR

LD2011225989 Budapest MTI in English 1852 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 20 (MTI)—At the head of a Hungarian delegation, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence, left for Prague on Monday on a friendly working visit.

The minister is returning an earlier visit by Army General Milan Vaclavik, Czechoslovak minister of defence.

Horn Congratulates GDR's Fischer on Reelection

LD1711205789 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn has sent a congratulatory telegram to Oskar Fischer on his re-election as foreign minister of the German Democratic Republic.

HSP's Nyers Meets TASS, ADN Directors

LD1711221189 Budapest MTI in English 2116 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, met general directors Leonid Kravchenko of TASS and Albert Vlasov of APN news agency in Budapest Friday.

Mr Nyers informed his guests on current questions relating to the party's policy.

New Ambassadors Approved for USSR, Israel

LD1611205489 Budapest MTI in English 1710 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 16 (MTI)—At its Thursday session held in Budapest, the Foreign Affairs Committee of Parliament met the future ambassadors of the Republic of Hungary to the Soviet Union and Israel, and heard a report on the preparations for the Budapest-Vienna World Expo.

The committee unanimously gave their support to the Foreign Ministry's proposal to appoint Sandor Gyorke ambassador to Moscow, and Janos Gorog to lead the Hungary Embassy in Israel.

Sandor Gyorke was born in Zalaszentgrot in 1932. He graduated in economics from the State University in Leningrad in 1956. He has been a staff-member of the Foreign Ministry since 1956. Mr Gyorke worked in the Council of Ministers apparatus from 1963 to 1965, and was in charge of CMEA affairs. He was a diplomat in Sofia and Warsaw between 1959 and 1962, in Prague between 1966 and 1971, and in Belgrade from 1974 to 1978. He has led the Hungarian Embassy in Belgrade since 1985.

Janos Gorog was born in Zsambek in 1936. He graduated from the Budapest Elte University in law in [date indistinct]. He was a judge of the Metropolitan Court until 1966 and then section head in the Ministry of Justice until 1974. Mr Gorog has worked in the Foreign Ministry since 1974. He served in Ottawa from 1978 to 1983. He was deputy head of the Legal Department of the Foreign Ministry until 1985, and has since then led the department.

Israeli Entrepreneurs Interested in Cooperation

AU2011165389 Budapest MTI in English 1621 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 17 Nov (MTI)—A delegation of Israeli construction entrepreneurs and banking experts are currently visiting Hungary in the organization of the Co-Nexus Management and Financial Advisory Public Limited Company. The 24-member delegation includes Yzhak Ben-dov, president of the Federation of Israeli Builders, Shlomo Grofman, general manager of the Bank Leumi, and Amos Salomon, one of the directors of the Solel-Bone Multinational Company.

The Israeli businessmen met Minister of Transport, Telecommunication and Construction Andras Derzsi, who reported on infrastructural and other building industry and investment opportunities. The delegation held talks with leaders of the National Federation of Building Industry Entrepreneurs, and were familiarized with Hungarian financial life, including the regulation of the future stock exchange. They were also briefed on the plans and investment opportunities of the Vienna-Budapest world expo. The Israeli firms are to participate in the preparations of the world expo mainly in the form of tourism investments, building reconstruction projects, re-building work, and hotel construction.

Medgyessy Holds Talks With Japan's Kaifu

LD1811053189 Budapest MTI in English 1948 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Tokyo, November 17 (MTI)—On Friday Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu met Peter Medgyessy, deputy head of the Hungarian Government, who presented a letter of invitation from Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth.

Toshiki Kaifu plans to travel to the Federal Republic of Germany, Poland, Hungary, Italy, the Brussels Centre of the Common Market and France from January 9 to 18, KYODO news agency reported on Friday. Collation of the visits has started through diplomatic channels. According to KYODO, Foreign Minister Nakayama Taro is to travel to the FRG and Hungary in December to prepare the prime minister's trip.

During his talks with the Japanese prime minister, Peter Medgyessy asked for increased economic support. Outlining the Hungarian reform processes, he stressed that the political reforms can be considered a guarantee against economic regression. He said that Japanese cooperation was also required for Hungary's integration nto the world economic vanguard.

In his reply, Mr Kaifu appreciated the Hungarian efforts towards democratization and the economic reforms. He expressed the hope his visit would take place at the earliest possible opportunity.

14th MSZMP Congress Set To Convene 17 Dec

LD1711184889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] The 14th Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress will be convened on 17 December. The call was signed, on behalf of the preparatory committee, by Karoly Grosz himself.

According to the document—and we quote—the most important task is the reorganization of the unified Marxist party of workers, peasants, intellectuals. In the interest of our being able to retain the achievements attained through self-sacrificing work over 4 decades, we will overcome the stifling crisis and find the paths leading to the accomplishment of socialist ideas.

It can also be read in the appeal that the 14th congress' task will be to elaborate the MSZMP's action program for the necessary reforms, for democratic legislation, for the burning economic and social tasks, as well as the political representation of the interests of manual and white-collar workers, pensioners, and young people.

HSP's Nagy Interviewed on Presidential Election

AU1611145989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 10 Nov 89 pp 1,5

[Interview with Imre Nagy, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), by Attila Gy. Fekete: "The President Should Be Responsible to the People"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Either openly, or wrapped up in some guise, there are three separate campaigns under way in Hungary today. In one of them, the parties are trying to influence the results of the referendum to be held on 26 November: The stake here is whether "the people or the future parliament should elect the president of the Republic." Parallel with this campaign, the competition between the presidential nominees has begun, and the parties' election programs are also under preparation. Has the propaganda machinery of the HSP prepared for the great challenge?

[Fekete] Even prior to the intermediate elections, Karoly Grosz declared in Zala that the election staff of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] had been set up. That was already too late anyway, because the opposition candidate and apathy in Kiskunfelegyhaza had won the intermediate summertime elections (people here did not show up to vote in two rounds). Has the HSP an election staff now?

[Nagy] We have a group that will manage Imre Pozsgay's election campaign, provided that the people decide on 26 November to elect the president of the Republic themselves. As For Karoly Grosz' declaration, the elections staff had not yet been set up at that time. In the meantime, a new party emerged from the MSZMP. This party, the HSP, is currently being formed, but it can already be said for sure that it cannot run in the election campaign with the same burden and power awareness as its predecessor. The HSP will be one party among others, and its success depends on what the voters think about its program and actions. We cannot deny that we also need a little time to prepare ourselves for the election campaign.

[Fekete] However, time is running out. Referendums will be held on 26 November and 7 January. These two events can even be interpreted as a general rehearsal for the parliamentary elections next spring....

[Nagy] I must argue with this. Persons, and not parties, are competing in the presidential elections, unlike in the parliamentary elections. No doubt, the referendum of 26 November is extremely important. The voters will have to decide whether they want a president of the Republic elected by the people as soon as possible. This is the major issue. As for the person to be elected, this is a secondary issue, even if we regard Imre Pozsgay as the most suitable person for this position. [passage omitted]

[Fekete] What must the president be like?

[Nagy] The answer to this arises from the presidential tasks. He must be a man who is well known both in the East and West, and of course in Hungary too, a man in whom people trust and whose past is a guarantee that the process of democratization will continue; a man who, with his erudition and appearance, and quality of being above the parties, is able to represent the interests of our nation. [passage omitted]

Council of Ministers Holds Session 19 Nov

Advisory Body Assesses Policies

*LD1911213489 Budapest MTI in English
1948 GMT 19 Nov 89*

[Text] Budapest, November 19 (MTI)—The advisory body of the Council of Ministers held a session under the chairmanship of Ivan T. Berend, on November 17, on the request of the prime minister. Following a report by the prime minister, the body held a debate on the activity of the government in the past months, and the most important governmental tasks of the coming months. The position of the advisory body was made public on Sunday.

The advisory body terms the political changes of the past year to be extremely significant in the modern history of the country. The government played a fundamentally progressive role in this process.

However, the advisory body stated with anxiety that the fundamentally positive process has by today become endangered in several areas. The fact that the tactical interests of the parties have come to prevail in politics, frequently violating the national interests, figured in this. The government has come under extremely powerful pressure from the part of the international and domestic financial organizations and the various interest groups. On the basis of all these, a part of the measures taken by the government are hasty and not well considered.

The advisory body considers the latest government decision on changing the foreign currency supply of tourists as an example of the irrational measures.

The advisory body cautions the government from bringing erroneous measures in the coming months, under possible pressure. It holds as dangerous the planned liberation of the prices of agricultural products. The advisory body considers as a fundamental task of the government to ensure the operation capability of society, and peaceful transition, amidst all circumstances until the elections. The measures that serve this should be incorporated into a well- considered medium-range transformation programme that should be coordinated with the major political forces.

Among others, the body proposes that the government work out a programme ranging until the National Assembly elections which, alongside managing the crisis, also serves well the realization of the change in system, and which makes it clear what the government wants to, and can do, in the coming months.

Interview With Spokesman

*LD2011205889 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1730 GMT 20 Nov 89*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] We first report on today's session of the Council of Ministers. Gyoergyi B. Kiraly has spoken with the government spokesman, Zsolt Bajnok.

[Begin Recording]] [Kiraly] The Council of Ministers' advisory body is angry at the government, due to its standpoint which was published in today's papers, since the Government has passed numerous erroneous measures recently, for example freezing the tourist hard-currency allowance. Did you discuss these erroneous measures at today's special session of the Council of Ministers? Was self-criticism exercised?

[Bajnok] The statement of the advisory body did not deal with this matter, but let me add, and not out of treasury considerations, that in such a difficult situation, in a crisis-situation fraught with tensions, I cannot imagine a Government that could take steps, measures, with the agreement of everyone.

[Kiraly] Let us turn to what was discussed, in concrete terms—the draft law on the salaries of leading state officials as well as National Assembly deputies. Was anything established, regarding amounts—let us say the pay of the president of the Republic, or in given cases, that of professional deputies?

[Bajnok] No, the objective of the meeting was precisely that such important issues, regarding state law, should not be under government jurisdiction. There has not yet been discussion of amounts—rather, there has been talk of principles, proportions. The Government discussed a law under preparation which seeks, in essence, to transfer to the National Assembly's jurisdiction, decisions on the matter of remunerating the highest officials. Another interesting element is that, in connection with the employment status of leading state-government officials, it was said that when setting pensions, in the future the same regulations will be valid for them as for any other citizen.

[Kiraly] You also discussed another draft law—one on state finances. Will this pertain to how the role of the state will have to change, regarding economic reform?

[Bajnok] Yes. The objective of the draft law is that the activity of the state should become open and controllable—that the deputies' plenum should play a much larger role in the budget, in its preparation, in overseeing its implementation, thus in control. Here, too, the management of the economy should be open in every manner possible.

[Kiraly] As from today, the Government, more precisely the Council of Ministers, has transferred the right to direct television as well as radio to a 15-member supervisory committee. The reasons, naturally, are known, since obviously what motivated the Government was that the various political parties should enjoy equal possibilities until the elections, not just in the political arena, but in the national media.

[Bajnok] This is precisely why a change in the leadership structure of the national institutions is necessary. According to the Council of Ministers' decision which was adopted, the Government is transferring its supervisory right to a supervisory committee. Its members are constituted of noted, recognized, respected representatives of the parties, the various social organizations, the churches, science and intellectual life.

[Kiraly] [passage omitted] How did you decide on the parties whose representatives should be invited to this 15-member body?

[Bajnok] I have to admit that I do not know which, of the 47 parties already existing at present—though it is possible that the number has exceeded 50—have taken part, from the outset, in consultations, and which have been left out.

[Kiraly] Can I ask for names, who are the members of this body?

[Bajnok] You, of course, can ask, but I cannot give names, although if I knew them I would tell you. I can give one name, that the Government has appointed Ferenc Koehalmi to the committee, with the task of coordinator. [passage omitted] The Government decision, which was confirmed today, does not deal in detail with the coordinator's sphere of tasks. However, it by no means cannot mean a primus inter pares task-sphere. If he votes, at the most his vote is one vote. [as heard]

[Kiraly] With what task-sphere has the government charged this 15-member supervisory committee?

[Bajnok] The decision charges the supervisory committee with the task of keeping guard over the credible and independent provision of information to public opinion. Thus, the committee ensures a kind of possible framework for the credible and independent provision of information. Also, it is empowered to decide on the persons of radio's and television's number one men.

[Kiraly] To my knowledge, there are opposition parties which did not accept the places offered in this body.

[Bajnok] Yes, FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] and SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] presumably owing to certain reservations, have not availed themselves of the opportunity, to delegate one person each to the supervisory committee.

[Kiraly] When will the members of this supervisory committee take oaths?

[Bajnok] To my knowledge, the festive event will take place tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. From then, the supervisory committee will have been set up and can begin to function.

[Kiraly] Was there talk, today, at the special Government session, of the resignation of Laszlo Marothy, minister of environmental protection and water management? There has been much mention of this, here between the walls of the parliament building, too.

[Bajnok] I should like to signal that the mandate of the Government and its members stems constitutionally from the National Assembly. Consequently, it is the National Assembly which must decide on a possible dismissal, and perhaps I am not crossing any moral information-boundary if I say yes, this matter was discussed.

[Kiraly] Did Premier Miklos Nemeth report on the lightning visit which he paid yesterday when he flew to the FRG to meet Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, in his house, and on which a very secretive communique was released, that they conducted an intensive working discussion?

[Bajnok] The premier reported on the discussion. The lightning visit and the exchange of views was given topicality by the accelerated internal and foreign political events. It is enough if I refer only to the GDR events, but remaining around our country, this weekend two leaders of the Common market visited and held talks in Hungary, and looking ahead, on 18 December, as is known, Chancellor Kohl will be Hungary's quest. Thus, this visit was discussed at the exchange of views.

[Kiraly] As well, I imagine, as the 500 million marks' credit, which we are receiving with the FRG Government's guarantee.

[Bajnok] I join you, let us imagine together. [end recording]

Further Reportage on Upcoming Referendum

Preparations 'Well Under Way'

LD2111000389 Budapest MTI in English
2254 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 20 (MTI)—Preparations for the November 26 referendum are well under way in compliance with legal provisions, Zoltan Gal, state secretary at the Ministry of Home Affairs, told MTI on Monday.

More than 7.5 million notification cards are to be delivered, and almost 11,500 constituencies have to be created, each consisting of a five-member ballot-counting committee.

Canvassing has to be completed by midnight on Friday according to the legal provisions.

Democratic Christians for Boycott

AU2111091789 Budapest NEPSZAVA
in Hungarian 16 Nov 89 p 5

[National Press Service report: "The 200 Million Forints Allocated for the Referendum Should be Given to Small Pensioners"]

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Christian Party is calling upon the Hungarian people to fully boycott the referendum scheduled for 26 November 1989 and every citizen should refrain from participating in this referendum!

The Hungarian Democratic Christian Party calls upon the government to give the 200 million forints allocated for the referendum to small pensioners, families with low income, or for health care purposes. At the same time, the Party calls upon the government to take this appeal seriously and refrain from burdening the Hungarian people with useless expenses.

HSP Reports Reports Party Status in Budapest

LD1711210589 Budapest MTI in English
1606 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 17 (MTI)—According to latest data, the membership of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] in Budapest is some 17,000. In recent weeks 187 new members registered, and 400 new basic organizations were set up. This was reported at a press conference on Friday by Arnold Steiner, secretary of the HSP Budapest Executive Committee, who also reported on the body's session on Thursday.

Mr Steiner said the HSP owns the management rights of 208 properites in the capital, which range from a one-room district party house to the building of the Budapest committee. Handing over the management rights of more than 100 properties is to begin mid-December.

The cutting back of the Budapest apparatus of the HSP continues. At present, the HSP employs only 290 people as compared to the earlier 470. From January next year, the number of political experts, technical, and administrative workers is to be reduced to one-third.

Opposition Parties Agree on Dismantling Roundtable

AU2011164989 Budapest MTI in English
0711 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 17 Nov (MTI)—'What we called the Opposition Roundtable (EKA) has fulfilled its mission, and its continued existence would obstruct social consensus,' says the joint position drafted by six parties, such as the Independent Smallholders Party, the Hungarian Independence Party, the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, the Hungarian People's Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, as well as the Association of Hungarian Political Prisoners. These groups feel it natural that the EKA could be dissolved only by its participants. They see it as a key requirement that after November 26, any crucial issue concerning the Hungarian population should be negotiated between the government on one side and the organizations which have already registered as parties or will do so before the above date, on the other side.

Gyula Kovar, spokesman for the Independent Hungarian Democratic Party, attributed historical significance to the united position of the six parties and the Association of Political Prisoners, praising them for having been able to put aside all their real or imaginary grudges and distrusts. He considers the union of the six organizations a power which is capable not only in words but also deeds of furthering the cause of the much-discussed but not-yet- realized national consensus.

Defense Officials Interviewed on Army Abuses

AU1711155989 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 14 Nov 89 p 7

[Report on interview with Laszlo Gyuricza, chairman of the Defense Committee of the National Assembly, and Janos Pap, the former chairman of the committee, by Janos Czingraber: "Protected Investigation in the Case of Petty Monarchs in Uniform"—date and place not given]

[Text] Imre Bokor's book: "Petty Monarchs in Uniform", which on 110 pages presents examples of abuses, apathy, showing off, and money waste in the Hungarian People's Army, has recently stirred up a great storm. In the latest session of Parliament, the prime minister declared that a committee had been set up to investigate these allegations, a committee led by Laszlo Gyuricza. We asked Gyuricza and Janos Pap to give us an interview: the former about the investigation; and the latter about whether he experienced anything of what this thin but "tough" book contains during his tenure in the Parliament.

Janos Pap: "Guests Ate the Same As the Regular Soldiers..."

[Czingraber] Janos Pap was the chairman of the Defense Committee of the National Assembly most of the time between 1967 and 1985, the period of time discussed in the book. The former first secretary of the Veszprem county committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] also dealt with the Armed Forces in his position as deputy premier. We asked him his opinion about Imre Bokor's book.

[Pap] Although I have heard about the book, I have not read it yet. I can state, however, that the Army has always endeavored to save money, and the Defense Ministry was among the first which returned as much money to the budget as possible. By setting up an economic troop management, we were far ahead of the economic reform; and we worked out a network of technical building personnel to save money.

[Czingraber] To what extent did the Defense Committee and its chairman have an insight into the life of the Army?

[Pap] We did have an insight because most of the decisions were made here.

[Czingraber] Did you have the opportunity to carry out investigations?

[Pap] Of course. The heads of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff informed us in more detail than they are required to by regulations, and we carried out on-the-spot investigations quite often. On the basis of my experiences, I can say that there was thorough management and strict supervision in the Army. Perhaps the outsiders are not aware of it, but a system of state supervision had also been set up. Every institution has such contacts with the Army, including the Planning Office, the Justice Ministry, or the Finance Ministry. The People's Army is not some kind of freely-run organization.

[Czingraber] In his book, Imre Bokor writes that the former defense minister, Lajos Czinege carved out a hunting area for himself and his friends surrounded with a 135-kilometer fence. His subordinates had to cover the expenses of this construction....

[Pap] Large forest areas came into the possession of the Hungarian People's Army for military purposes. Naturally, civilians had to be banned from these areas. Besides, setting up a fence often cost less than paying for game damage to the surrounding agricultural cooperatives for 10 years.

[Czingraber] What is your opinion about the author's claim that science and research activity have no prestige in the Army?

[Pap] If this were the case, the Army would not have been able to use the scientific achievements so successfully. It is true that we had to give up certain areas at the outset; however, we have achieved very good results in all the areas we could deal with.

[Czingraber] According to the book, a considerable number of exercises were manipulated and the reports submitted to the upper echelons were deceptive; the Army was engaged in partying and roads and red carpets were prepared for arriving guests.

[Pap] I will say face to face to anyone who questions the seriousness of the Army exercises that he is simply lying. As for waiting for guests by spreading gravel on the roads and making boardwalks, this is natural everywhere. Should perhaps the prime minister or the foreign guest walk knee deep in mud? This is a primitive idea. However, the guest ate the same as the regular soldiers....

[Czingraber] But regular soldiers could not send a helicopter for doughnuts, like the major general who, according to the book, did that!

[Pap] Many things can happen during an Army exercise, in the way the Army lives and moves in this time; it probably happens that people combine the pleasant with the useful. However, this is not characteristic of the Army. The range of petty things mentioned above, and similar petty things cannot even be shown in the Army budget. In my view, the important thing is that Lajos Czinege created the most modern Hungarian People's Army ever. As a minister, a deputy premier in charge of the Army, a committee chairman, and as county party first secretary alike, I met with correct and committed people among the Army leaders, and I reject the allegations that waste and disregard for the interests of the people's economy were characteristic of the Army.

[Czingraber] In the long years that you have spent in the leadership, do you remember initiating any punishment, blame, or calling to account of a military leader?

[Pap] I did not have the right to do this. Nor did I have any reason to do that!

Laszlo Gyuricza: "The Majority Are Interested in Discovering the Truth"

[Czingraber] A part of the public thinks that the activity of the investigation committee is not intensive enough. What is your opinion about this?

[Gyuricza] In my view, our activity is intensive enough, but all of us are carrying out this investigation in addition to our main jobs. An independent committee engaged exclusively in this activity would certainly bring results sooner than we, National Assembly deputies. However, I was not the one who determined the method. In any case, I thought of bringing up the need for a change. The way I see it, considering the large number of persons affected by the case, the investigation could take a considerable amount of time.

[Czingraber] What is it that this committee actually investigates?

[Gyuricza] The effects of the spirit and contents of this book on the Army, and whether this helps the renewal of the Army or not. We must put all this down in the form of a report submitted to the prime minister and Parliament.

[Czingraber] I will confess that I thought that the committee was investigating whether Imre Bokor's allegations were true or not.

[Gyuricza] Naturally, we are interested in the accuracy of this book too. However, this truth has several aspects. One is the Army's general evaluation, professional training, internal conditions, and the use of scientific achievements. The other aspect is the military evaluation, activity, and professional training of some military leaders; the third aspect is the private life of those concerned, and the connection with their professional activity. We are focusing on the first two aspects, but we cannot avoid the third aspect. The persons in question must settle personal issues with the author, because the law provides an opportunity for this. As far as I know, several people are initiating private suits against Imre Bokor.

[Czingraber] In your opinion, if the personal life of the officers mentioned in the book turns out to include factors that are morally unacceptable, will these factors affect their official careers too....?

[Gyuricza] Our committee will not make such decisions; it will discover things, coordinate opinions, and conclude whether the content is true. It is the task of the competent state and military bodies to take measures and carry out sentences.

[Czingraber] What are the guarantees that you will be completely objective in judging the facts?

[Gyuricza] Each member of the nine-member committee is a civilian. Four members are from the Defense Committee, two members represent the HSP, two members represent the opposition, and one member is an independent member.

[Czingraber] You think that the military experts can also be objective?

[Gyuricza] In my view, part of the public and of the mass media are subjective from the outset in their approach to Imre Bokor's book, and I fear that, if the investigation does not prove them right, they will tend to explain this with others' partiality. I believe that most people do not want to be abettors, but they are interested in discovering the truth. This is also my approach toward the experts, and, naturally, we consider their expertise when we ask their contribution. Of course, I have the same approach toward the author, and I judge him according to what he says in the introduction and in the epilogue of his book, namely that he wrote the truth.

[Czingraber] You mentioned that you are still at the beginning of the investigation. Could you, nevertheless, tell us something about the facts already known?

[Gyuricza] At the first hearing, Imre Bokor, who gave the impression of being a disciplined and logically thinking man, confirmed everything that he had written down in the book. At the same time, he is not sure he could come up with enough proof about some things. For example, he wrote that Lajos Czinege did not recoil from the use of the fist-law, but Imre Bokor is not sure that he can also prove this. At the same time, the representative of the Defense Ministry submitted facts to our committee which refer to certain misinterpretations or factual mistakes. Naturally, all these things have to be examined.

[Czingraber] Will you investigate the circumstances of Imre Bokor's quick retirement?

[Gyuricza] This would not be closely related to the investigation; however, we do deal with this issue, because he himself regards this as a retaliation. Although, according to the defense minister, there is nothing of this sort here, we should all the more thoroughly look into this matter too.

Glatz in Charge of MTI, MAGYAR HIRLAP

LD2111000589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Excerpt] The Government has decided that Ferenc Glatz, minister of culture and education, should supervise MTI and MAGYAR HIRLAP. The mandate of the supervisory committee will last until the formation of the government to be created after the National Assembly elections. [passage omitted]

Trade Unions Reject Government Economic Program

LD2011221889 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, November 20, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Hungary's trade unions have rejected the government's three-year economic programme and are recommending changes to next year's taxation scheme.

The National Coordination Committee of Trade Unions, which was formed a week ago with members delegated from various unions, on Thursday criticised the 1990-1992 programme over its forecast of economic stagnation, 15-per-cent inflation, a cut-back in real wages, and a substantial increase in unemployment.

The unions are demanding an economic policy which looks to solve these problems and insist that a continued erosion of real wages and high inflation are unacceptable.

The trade unions are also critcial of the predominantly financial and budgetary nature of the programme. The restrictive measures designed purely to 'balance the books' impose huge burdens on employees, and by sustaining the policy of restricting demand, they further reduce the chances of stimulating the economy, the trade unions believe.

The unions also want an immediate reform of the wage structure because, as they put it, the liberalisation of prices should go hand in hand with the liberalisation of wages.

Economic Statistics Released for Jan-Sep 1989

AU2011132189 Budapest MTI in English 1039 GMT 16 Nov 89

[Text] Budapest, 16 Nov (MTI)—Figures of the Central Statistics Office reveal that in the period between January and September 1989, Hungarian industrial production was 98.4 percent of the figure for the same period last year. There were increases in the electric energy industry (1.7 percent), metallurgy (0.3 percent) and the food industry (0.8 percent). The largest drop affected production in the manufacturing industry, with 5.1 percent. The number of industrial employees fell by 3.6 percent, parallel to a 2 percent rise in per capita production.

Imports grew by 17 percent and exports by 21.5 percent. Within this figure, rouble-accounting imports rose by 2.6 percent and exports by 11.7 percent, while convertible-accounting imports showed an increase of 29.1 percent and exports 29.3 percent.

The money revenue of the population calculated on current prices were 18.4 per cent up against the figure for last year. Income from employment rose by 17.2 percent, income from small and private enterprises by 17 percent, and that from social security sources by 19 percent.

In the surveyed period, retail turnover price was 117.2 percent of the figure for last year if calculated on current prices, and 99.7 percent under permanent (comparative) prices.

The consumer price index was at 116.6 percent of the figure for last year. Prices of food products rose by 16.8 per cent, that of alcoholic beverages, coffee and tobacco by 11.5 percent, of clothing articles 19.2 percent, heating and electricity 7.9 percent, consumer durables 17.5 percent and that of services by 16.2 percent.

Cypryniak-Led Delegation Attends RCP Congress

LD2011133589 Warsaw PAP in English 1152 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 20—Kazimierz Cypryniak, member of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) CC and head of the Central Control and Audit Commission, is leading a PUWP delegation to the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] which opened in Bucharest today.

The congress is attended by 115 delegations of communist, workers', socialist and social-democratic parties and progressive movements from 82 states.

Mazowiecki Receives USSR Ambassador Ciosek

LD1811140589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki today received the newly nominated Polish ambassador to the Soviet Unuon, Stanislaw Ciosek.

Sejm Accuses CSSR of 'Ecological Aggression'

LD1811040189 Warsaw PAP in English 2358 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—Today, on the second day of its session, the Sejm finally elected 50 per cent of the constitutional tribunal. The discussion was under way for more than two weeks as there was sharp controversy between deputies' caucuses concerning candidates. The Sejm decided not to vote en bloc but for each candidate separately.

Professor Mieczyslaw Tyczka of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan was appointed president of the tribunal. His candidature was put forward by the coalition of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP), the United Peasants' Party (UPP) and the Democratic Party (DP).

Next, deputies' questions followed.

The first interpellation put forward by Deputy Jerzy Busiecki concerned the violation of natural environment protection rules in the region near the border with Czechoslovakia, and especially the construction of the coking plant in Stonava which stirs public opinion. The discussion was attended by a dozen or so deputies. Irrespective of their affiliation they expressed their indignation at the stance taken by the Czech side on the ecological conflict which has been going on for too long.

Following are some opinions by Sejm deputies:

This is ecological aggression. It is necessary to appeal to international public opinion. Poland very nearly could become "famous" for Czech gas and crude oil. The Mazowiecki government should with full resolutness start talks with the Czechoslovak Government (this was the kindest postulate).

There were many other postulates, as for instance, a proposal to withdraw Polish contract workers who are building the coking plant in Stonava and to break an agreement on deliveries of coking coal to Czechoslovakia (the coking plant in Stonava is to use it), and even to use—in order to settle the conflict—the Polish Army by the Warsaw Treaty. This proposal amused deputies. However, the Sejm considered it necessary to appeal to experts' opinion and to international community.

In connection with another interpellation concerning the financing of education, Deputy Anna Urbanowicz suggested so that a plenary debate on national education be organized.

Deputies also spoke about profits of processing plants, trade profit margin ot foodstuffs (they spoke about waste of food as a way to keep prices on the same level), about the building of nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec, and about posts and files of the liquidated departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Deputy Bohdan Osinski asked what would happen with files and documents from the liquidated departments of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and how one would use their potential.

Answering the question, Vice-Minister of Internal Affairs Zbigniew Pudysz said that the liquidated units were obliged to put their materials in the Ministry of Internal Affairs archives where they would be "categorized and sorted out." Vacancies are given to militia.

Deputy Krzysztof Dowgiallo (OKP) asked the minister of industry what final decision he intended to take as far as the nuclear power plant in Zarnowiec was concerned. he also suggested so that a referendum be held to decide on the future of the construction. Vice-Minister of Industry Jozef Lochowski presented the to-date course of the construction and results of the meeting of the Government Economic Committee (KERM) which examined the issue twice.

KERM appointed a team of independent experts who were to present their opinion whether the building should be continued or stopped. The team did not present such a proposal as experts voiced different opinions.

The group of experts of the International Atomic Energy Agency who visited the construction site in Zarnowiec considered the adopted solutions and quality of work as proper and safe. The Council of Ministers is to make a final decision in the near future.

Deputy Kazimier Ujazdowski (DP) asked a question concerning the cost of the stay of the Polish delegation in Pyongyang during the recent festival of youth and students. Vice-Premier Jan Janowski explained that it was youth organizations which decided to send the delegation. The cost, including subsidies, exceeded one billion zlotys. Detailed information will be handed over the the deputy.

The Sejm will hold its next session on November 23 and 24.

Walesa Assesses U.S. Visit as 'Too Short'

LD2011225389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Report on interview with Solidarity leader Lech Walesa—date and place not given]

[Text] Lech Walesa arrived in Venezuela today to take part in the World Congress of the Confederation of Labor. This is how the last day of his visit in the United States went:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Mr Chairman, your visit in the United States is coming to an end. How do you assess this visit?

[Walesa] If it is a question of assessing the preceding days, I must say that in theory we have achieved the maximum possible. However, our attitude is a little skeptical, because it's a question of facts, it's a quesion of facts and practice. I am not a theorist. The theorists were very pleased, as the reception has naturally been good, and we have reached much in theory. However, I am waiting for it to be put into practice. And the practice will be carried out by our government, the agents of its embassy, the consulates, and we can assess it only after a certain period of time, when it starts to be put into action, brings in results. It ought to bring in a lot of results.

[Reporter] What haven't you managed to arrange here, during your visit to the United States?

[Walesa] We have managed to arrange everything. That is, perhaps just one thing. This was neither a good visit nor a bad one. It was too short. Either it should have been shortened a lot or extended a lot, because many people needed to be thanked, to be met, and we were not able to do this as the day has too few hours. I was not pleased with this. In this context it was too short.

[Reporter] What is our assessment? Is this visit going to have a greater significance in the political or economic sphere?

[Walesa] I, as a practical person, would prefer it to be in the economic sphere, and I want to (?develop) the economic sphere. We do not really need political victories here, and haven't for a long time. We have reform; we have such far reaching pluralistic and libertarian changes, and virtually everyone understands that. However, it is now a question of business, of the economy. And I am in any case going to steer it, so that all will be only in that direction, above all for economic interests. [end recording]

Joint Statement on Kohl Visit to Poland Published

AU2011151189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Nov 89 p 3

["Text" of the joint statement signed by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl in Warsaw on 14 November]

[Text]

I

1. The Federal Republic of Germany and the Polish People's Republic [PPR] are aware of their special responsibility for a policy of peace, understanding, and cooperation in the interest of the people and the nations in Europe.

2. The 50th anniversary of World War II which was unleashed by the attack of National Socialist Germany on Poland, and the large number of victims that this war claimed are a reminder and an appeal to shape permanently the relations between the two countries and peoples in a peaceful way. This anniversary reminds us of the special historic and moral dimension of the relations between Germans and Poles.

3. The FRG and the PPR are resolved to shape their relations in memory of the tragic and painful sides of history on a basis that is oriented toward the future, and thus to set an example of good neighborliness.

4. The FRG and the PPR consider the treaty of 7 December 1970 on the bases of the normalization of their mutual relations a firm foundation of their relations.

5. Guided by the provisions of this treaty, they have made progress in the process of normalization and have improved the conditions of understanding between the two nations. The relations between the people have developed more rapidly and farther than those between the two states.

6. They will continue to observe this treaty in letter and spirit, and they will make it the basis of the full normalization and comprehensive development of their mutual relations.

7. The far-reaching reforms that have been initiated in the PPR in the political, economic, and social spheres, and the opening toward Europe and the world are considerably expanding the opportunities of cooperation and reconciliation between the two nations.

II

8. The FRG and the PPR state their will to develop their cooperation comprehensively by the following accords and agreements signed during Federal Chancellor Kohl's official visit to the PPR:

Agreement on youth exchange;

Agreement on cooperation in the areas of science and technology;

Agreement on cooperation in the areas of health and medical sciences;

Agreement on the promotion and mutual protection of capital investments;

Agreement on cooperation in the area of environmental protection;

Agreement on the promotion of cooperation of enterprises in the areas of agriculture, forestry, and food production and trade;

Agreement on the mutual establishment and work of institutes of culture and scientific-technological know-how;

Protocol on consultations between foreign ministers and foreign ministries;

Agreement on the resumption of legal assistance in matters of civil and criminal law;

Protocol on the conclusion of negotiations on problems related to setting up consulates general of the FRG in Krakow and of the PPR in Hamburg;

Exchange of notes on the mutual exchange of defense attaches.

9. Both sides are resolved to continue the dialogue, which was resumed by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl's visit to the PPR, at the highest political level.

10. They take note with special satisfaction that President Wojciech Jaruzelski has invited President Richard von Weizsaecker to visit the PPR.

11. Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl has invited Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki to pay a return visit to the FRG next year.

12. Both sides welcome the agreement reached between the foreign ministers to hold regular consultations.

13. It was agreed that the ministers will increase their contacts and cooperation between their respective ministries.

14. Both sides welcome the intensification of contacts between parliaments on the level of presidiums, committees, and party groups, as well as bilateral groups of parliamentarians.

15. They propose that people from both countries meet, and that churches, parties, trade unions, foundations, and other social organizations and associations expand cooperation, and they propose cooperation between sister cities. They will exclude no one from such cooperation.

16. In this respect, the Forum of the Federal Republic and the PPR plays an important role. Both sides pay tribute to its efforts to include all political and social forces in the process of understanding, and will support the concepts and practical steps on the road to this goal.

17. Both sides are deeply convinced that the commitment of the young generation plays a key role for the two peoples' trusting coexistence and for a peaceful European future.

18. Both sides emphatically welcome the signing of the agreement on youth exchange which will open up new opportunities of meetings and joint projects for youths and their organizations in both countries, irrespective of their political ideologies or religious beliefs.

19. They pay tribute to and support the work of the FRG-Polish Youth Forum.

20. In view of the special significance of human contacts for understanding and confidence between the nations, both sides will review their tourist and travel regulations, with the goal of facilitating exchanges, visitors' travels, and meetings. In doing so, they will in particular take youths and pensioners into consideration.

21. Berlin (West) will take part in the development of cooperation, while strictly observing and fully applying the Four-Power Agreement of 3 September 1971.

III

22. The FRG and the PPR emphasize the special importance of their economic and financial cooperation as a factor consolidating and activating their relations in general. They will therefore continue their efforts to create favorable conditions for the further development of this cooperation.

23. Both sides agree that the process of economic reform which has been initiated and the indispensable domestic economic efforts in Poland must be complemented by international cooperation, both bilaterally and in a multilaterally coordinated form.

24. In this connection, both sides agree that the conclusion of a credit agreement with the International Monetary Fund on the basis of a solid Polish program of adjustment is of basic importance. The Federal Government emphatically supports a constructive agreement between Poland and the International Monetary Fund soon.

25. It is also important that the World Bank grant the PPR credits soon; the Federal Government also emphatically advocates this.

26. In addition, the Federal Government will propose to the Paris Club that Poland's financial obligations be rescheduled in the framework of a long-term settlement at terms which should largely take Poland's ability to pay into account, if possible.

27. The FRG and the PPR welcome the conclusion of the agreement between the European Economic Community and the PPR on trade and cooperation. Both sides will make considerable efforts to utilize the opportunities

that have been opened up in this agreement. The agreement envisages, among other things, improving access to the market for Polish products.

28. The Federal Government is also ready to contribute bilaterally its share to providing economic support to the process of economic reform in Poland and to promoting economic cooperation.

29. Both sides propose and will promote to the best of their ability the strengthening of trade exchange and cooperation between enterprises, including the forming of mixed enterprises. In addition to industry, they will give special attention to agriculture and food production and to environment technologies.

30. Regarding the financial credit of 1975, the Federal Government will grant forgiveness of outstanding debts in the framework of a special agreement. The remaining financial obligations will be paid in zloty upon maturity and will flow into a fund to finance projects of joint interest.

31. The money paid into this fund is to support, above all:

Youth exchange and the establishment of youth hostels and meeting places;
Environmental, traffic, telecommunications, and other projects involving the infrastructure;
The training and advanced training of economic experts;
The establishment and activities of cultural institutes;
The promotion of the German language and culture in the PPR;
The restoration and preservation of cultural monuments of historical importance for Europe;
Church, charity, and social institutions and their initiatives.

32. Both sides expressed their satisfaction with the signing of the agreement of 9 October 1989 on the rescheduling of the 1986-88 Polish financial obligations to the FRG, valued at DM2.5 billion, in order to relieve the Polish balance of payments.

33. In anticipation of a speedy further regulation of debts in the Club of Paris, the Federal Government reopens Hermes guarantees for jointly selected and examined projects and export transactions with Poland.

34. The conclusion of the investment promotion and protection agreement will considerably improve the conditions for private capital investments, above all for small and medium-sized enterprises. The Federal Government is prepared to guarantee capital investments in Poland in accordance with existing proceedings.

35. Both sides express their preparedness, in view of the initiated economic reform process, to increasingly cooperate in the training and further training of economic experts and managers in the Joint Government Commission for the Development of Economic, Industrial, and Technological Cooperation and to stipulate the conditions of a special program consisting of the training and further training of practicioners and university members in the fields of economy, technology, and law.

36. The Federal Government is prepared to speedily conclude the negotiations with the Polish side on the employment of Polish contract workers, the objective of which is to simplify proceedings considerably and to switch from a maximum number of employees to an annual average number, which will considerably improve the use of the workers' contingent.

37. Both sides are of the opinion that the activities of the Joint Government Commission for the Development of Economic, Industrial, and Technological Cooperation are very important. The commission will establish a special group for investments and consulting. The commission will be instructed to dedicate itself increasingly to the following forms of cooperation: establishing banks and joint investment promotion institutions in Poland, using bonded areas, cooperating on third-country markets, and dispatching a delegate of the German economy to Warsaw as a preliminary step to founding a German-Polish trade chamber.

IV

38. The FRG and the PPR also give priority to the preservation of the natural environment in the interest of future generations. Therefore, within the framework of their agreement on cooperation in environmental protection, they will do everything to reduce the already existing pollution of the air, water—especially of the Baltic Sea—and soil and to take precautions against other dangers to the environment.

39. Both sides stress the importance of increased scientific-technological cooperation. Therefore, in accordance with their agreement in this field, they will intensify scientific exchange and implement joint projects. They regard this as a chance to use the achievements of modern science in the interest of the people, their health, and prosperity. They promote and support parallel initiatives of the university and private scientific research institutions in the two countries.

40. Both sides are determined to energetically combat new threats to civilization, such as international terrorism, drug trafficking, and new epidemics like AIDS, and to cooperate in gene technology. The responsible ministers will jointly discuss appropriate measures and forms of cooperation.

41. Special importance in the interest of mutual understanding between the two peoples is to be attached to the extension and improvement of traffic routes and communications. The postal administrations of the two countries will improve bilateral services as fast as possible, especially by considerably increasing the number of telephone and telex lines.

42. Both sides advocate the improvement and acceleration of border and customs clearance.

V

43. In the awareness of the unmistakable contribution that the two peoples have made to the joint cultural heritage of Europe, as well as of the significance of the cultural exchange for mutual understanding and rapprochement, the FRG and PPR will increasingly expand their cultural cooperation, thus contributing at the same time to the all-European cultural identity.

44. Both sides are convinced that the agreed establishment of institutes for culture and scientific-technological information in both countries will contribute decisively to this. Branches of these institutes will also be set up.

45. Both sides make it possible for individuals and groups who are of German or Polish origin or who adhere to the language, culture, and tradition of the other side to preserve and develop their cultural identity. They implement the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 10 December 1948, the International Covenant of Political and Civil Rights of 16 December 1966, as well as the CSCE Helsinki Final Act of 1 August 1975, and the final documents of Madrid of 6 September 1983 and of Vienna of 15 January 1989. The exercise of these rights must conform to international law and to the law of a given state and should strengthen the peaceful coexistence and good-neighborliness between the people and contribute to their understanding and reconciliation.

46. Both sides confirm their willingness to enable all persons concerned to get wider access to the language and culture of the other side.

47. The FRG Government will see to it that all of the laender will to a greater extent make it possible for students to choose Polish as a foreign language at secondary schools and at adult evening classes, and will see to it that the possibilities of introducing Polish studies at universities will be expanded.

48. The Polish Government will do everything possible to ensure that opportunities to choose German as a foreign language at Polish schools will be expanded to the same extent in all parts of the country. It agrees to accept assistance from Bonn for the training of teachers and for teaching aids.

49. To deepen mutual understanding, both sides decide that publications as well as supplements to dailies and weeklies in the language of the other side can be published, distributed, and read without limitations. Publications by the other side can be imported and marketed without limitations in accordance with Articles 19 and 20 of the International Covenant of Political and Civil Rights. This also applies to subscriptions that are given to people as presents and to publications that are distributed through foreign missions.

50. Both sides confirm that, in harmony with the legislation of each side, the setting up of associations aimed at cultivating language, culture, and tradition is allowed in principle and is only subject to the regulations binding for all associations of private persons. They also confirm that these associations have equal rights concerning access to their region's media and may maintain contacts with the other country. The associations may set up public libraries.

51. Both sides will increasingly promote the distribution of the classical and modern literature of the other side, both in the original and translated versions.

52. The Polish side agrees to the FRG's construction of a national memorial at the former Auschwitz concentration camp and their placing plaques at the castle in Kreisau [Krzyzowa] and the former headquarters near Rastenburg [Ketrzyn] commemorating the German resistance movement, and also at the house in Kulm [Chelmno] where Kurt Schumacher was born.

53. The German side, for its part, agrees to the Polish side's placing commemorative plaques at the former concentration camp in Berlgen-Belsen and at the southern cemetery in Nuremberg, and to take care of Polish soldiers' graves in Murnau.

54. Both sides will reach agreement on expanding the memorial for Gerhard Hautptmann and to establish a memorial for Josef von Eichendorff, and to make both accessible to the public.

55. Both sides will support the expansion of knowledge about their partner's country. In this connection, they paid tribute to the significance of the mass media in disseminating information on their partner's country, as well as in overcoming prejudices. They will increase cooperation in the sphere of press, information, and the exchange of journalists.

56. Both sides agree that the joint committee, stipulated in Article 14 of the agreement concluded on 11 June 1976 between the FRG and PPR on cultural cooperation, will convene shortly in order to fulfill the tasks that have been assigned to it, particularly the drafting of a program for cultural exchange extending over several years.

VI

57. The FRG and the PPR stress the great importance of humanitarian cooperation in their bilateral relations and in West-East relations in general. They emphasize their readiness to continue cooperation with the inclusion of the charitable organizations of both sides.

58. Both sides agree that the applications for gaining as well as for release from their respective citizenship must be settled in the interest of the affected people without delays and at acceptable costs.

59. Both sides will contribute to further developing, in particular, the industrial conurbations of the PPR by means of cultural measures, as they have agreed in this statement, and by means of environmental protection cooperation and economic promotion, including the use

of means from guaranteed loans and the abovementioned national currency fund.

60. Both sides concur that the possibility to visit the graves of those who died in the wars and to maintain and care for them is of decisive importance, because it directly affects the emotions of the peoples. Therefore, they note with particular satisfaction that the Red Cross societies of both countries, with the participation of the People's League for the Care of German War Graves and the PPR Ministry of Spatial Planning and Construction, have meanwhile established contacts for this purpose and intend to form a working group. They will promote this cooperation.

VII

61. The FRG and the PPR support the goal of a Europe of peace and cooperation—of a European peace order or a common European home—in which, in particular, human rights are implemented and man with his dignity and his rights is the focus of politics; in which the inviolability of the borders and the respect of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all states in Europe in their current borders are a fundamental condition for peace; in which the principles and norms of international law, in particular the principles of the renunciation of violence, of the respect for human rights and the peoples' right to self-determination, of the peaceful settlement of conflicts, of the equality of states, and of the noninterference in internal affairs are respected and enjoy priority in international and domestic policy; in which every state has the right to freely choose its own political and social system and to shape its relations with other states on the basis of international law in a sovereign way; in which the creative powers of the people, the potential of an economy with division of labor, and the results of science and technology are used to secure peace and to increase the prosperity of all countries and peoples.

62. As important steps toward this goal, they pay tribute to the CSCE Final Act of Helsinki and to the final documents of Madrid and Vienna. They consider these documents as the bases of their relations and will implement them in all fields.

63. Both sides consistently advocate further progress in the CSCE process. They stress the importance of a concentrated all-European dialogue, which consists of both traditional and new topics, including regular meetings at the highest political level.

64. They stress the necessity of comprehensive and increasingly closer economic and scientific-technological cooperation for mutual benefit in all of Europe. In this spirit, they will closely cooperate at the CSCE conference on economic cooperation in Europe, which will take place in Bonn in the spring of 1990.

65. They pay tribute to the Joint Statement of 25 June 1988 between the EC and CEMA, the normalization of relations, and the subsequently concluded trade and cooperation agreements between the EC and the European member states of CEMA, as well as the initiated political dialogue between the 12 EC states and the Warsaw Pact states.

66. Both sides support the cultural and historical unity of Europe. They are convinced that the CSCE symposium on cultural heritage, which will take place in Krakow in 1991, will contribute to strengthening the awareness of European identity.

67. Both sides stress the fundamental role of the human dimension within the framework of the CSCE process and will closely cooperate at the upcoming CSCE human rights conferences in Copenhagen and Moscow.

68. Both sides consider it the priority task of their policy to link up with the historically grown European traditions and to thus contribute to overcoming the division of Europe.

VIII

69. The FRG and the PPR affirm that it is the goal of their policy to reliably prevent any kind of war, be it nuclear or conventional, and to secure and shape peace.

70. Both sides energetically advocate further concrete progress and results in the process of arms control and disarmament. It is their joint goal to consolidate security and stability at a lower and verifiable level of armed forces and armaments.

71. Both sides concur that the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe are to lead to the establishment of a stable and secure balance at a lower level of armament, which is sufficient for defense but abolishes the capability of carrying out surprise attacks or large-scale attacks.

72. Both sides declare their encouragement with the dynamic course of the Vienna negotiations. They will contribute to the best of their abilities to achieving a first agreement on conventional armed forces in Europe as soon as 1990.

73. They express their determination to implement the 1986 Stockholm document and to agree on further effective confidence-building and security measures at the Vienna negotiations. In connection with the discussion of security concepts, military strategy, and military doctrines, they pointed out the importance of the seminar which took place at their joint initiative in June 1989 in the FRG and provided important stimuli to the Vienna negotiations in this respect.

74. Both sides affirm their support for the negotiations between the United States and the USSR on a 50-percent reduction of their strategic nuclear weapons.

75. Both sides are in favor of a worldwide, comprehensive, and effectively verifiable ban on chemical weapons at the earliest possible time.

IX

76. The FRG and the PPR are profoundly convinced that the development of their relations, which is outlined in this joint statement, is of fundamental importance for peace, security, and stability in Europe and for the positive development of the East-West relationship in general. Therefore, they are determined to attain lasting success in their relations.

77. Both sides affirm that the development of their relations does not touch upon their respective obligations regarding treaties and alliances. Their cooperation is not directed against anyone; much more, it serves the best interests of all peoples in Europe.

78. In the future-oriented, further development of their relations they know themselves to be in agreement with the profound and long-standing desire of their peoples to heal the wounds of the past through understanding and reconciliation, to consolidate mutual trust, and to jointly shape a better future.

Warsaw, 14 November 1989

Helmut Kohl and Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Commentary Criticizes Kohl Visit Results

AU2011141589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Nov 89 p 9

[Jerzy Hoffman commentary: "Assessing the Results"]

[Text] Although several days have now elapsed since Chancellor Kohl concluded his visit to Poland, the visit remains a subject of interest for Polish public opinion. This especially relates to the content of the Joint Statement which was signed by Premier Mazowiecki and Chancellor Kohl—a document that has been called a "timetable" of Polish-FRG relations for the future.

It may be worthwhile to attempt to assess the points contained in the statement, and attempt an overall appraisal of the visit.

Let us recall that for the FRG the main aims of this visit were the solution of the problem of the German minority in Poland—to guarantee it access to the German language, culture, and traditions—the regulation of the problem of place-name terminology, the extension of conservation to German cemeteries of the two World Wars, the establishment of an institute of culture and a consulate, and to secure an exchange of the youth of the two countries. These key issues for the FRG only became apparent during the 11 rounds of negotiations between the plenipotentiaries of the two countries which preceded the signing of the Joint Statement.

Poland's interests, on the other hand, were to secure a declaration from the FRG Government which would strengthen the irrevocable character of Poland's western frontier based on the 7 December 1970 Treaty on the Fundamental Normalization of Mutual Relations. The second important issue was to gain wide financial and economic aid from the FRG, and the third, was to secure compensation for Polish forced labor and for Polish victims of World War II.

The negotiations that preceded the visit lasted for almost a year. After seven rounds of negotiations which were conducted by Ernest Kucza, Premier Rakowski's plenipotentiary, his place was taken by Premier Mazowiecki's plenipotentiary, Mieczyslaw Pszon. As a result of these negotiations what did the FRG achieve?

The matter of the German minority in Poland. Here, Bonn achieved all it had set out to do. Polish citizens of German nationality, or those wishing to cultivate the German language, culture, and traditions, will be able to do so. To this end appropriate steps will be taken, including the right to form associations, to publish their own periodicals, the possibility of establishing contacts with the corresponding German associations in the FRG (for example, the association of ex-Silesian Germans), as well as those based in other countries, and so on.

The matter of German war graves. The Bonn side achieved all it had set out to do. Chapter VI [Roman six], article 60, confirms that both sides have agreed "with particular pleasure" to open up the possibilities of visiting, maintaining, and caring for the graves of German soldiers.

Terminology of place-names. In this matter Bonn also succeeded in its aims. It has been agreed that both sides will use in their correspondence the official address of the addressee, but in official documentation, they will continue to use their own language. This means that, for example, in FRG maps, German place-names—Hindenburg (Zabrze), Breslau, Danzig, Elbing, Allenstein (Olsztyn)—will continue to be used to denote these Polish cities, and so on.

The agreement on the establishment of an institute of culture and information, and a general consulate, is to be on the basis of mutuality.

It ought to be emphasized that all the above matters are tied not only to the clear prejudices that stem from the experiences of the last 200 years—especially the period of the last war—but with the present-day interests of revisionist and nationalist circles in the FRG. Several days before his visit to Poland, Chancellor Kohl held consultations with the chief-revisionist, Hupka, who has never ceased to stand by the 1937 borders of the Third Reich, and has always voiced the slogan: "Slask is ours."

The slogans which the above mentioned German minority in Poland manifested during the "holy mass of reconciliation" in Krzyzowa, near Swidnica, Lower Slask—slogans such as, "Helmuth you are also our chancellor," or "Danzig and Elbing greet the chancellor," are ample proof of this. The failed attempt to hold a "mass of reconciliation" on Saint Anna's Hill, and which was to serve as a great manifestation of "the German nature of Slask," adequately proves whose inspiration is behind the idea to manifest the slogan that the fictional Reich still exists.

Do not the words that Chancellor Kohl spoke in the Catholic University of Lublin during a ceremony at which he received an honorary doctorate—"It is also the truth that after the war over 2 million Germans lost their lives during their flight and their forced expulsion, and many more suffered terribly"—suggest it was the Poles who are responsible for this? Having to swallow this lie not so far away from the place where one of the largest of Hitler's extermination camps stood, must awaken emotions and a well-founded fear throughout the whole of Polish society.

What, on the other hand, has Poland gained? Let us recall that in the Joint Statement both sides accepted the 1970 Treaty as the lasting basis of mutual relations for the future. Both sides call for the existing frontiers to be respected, which in reality, is only a reiteration of the formula used in the Helsinki Final Act, and although both formulas—in relation to the 1970 Treaty—have been effective for the last 19 years, they have never stopped various politicians, or representatives of the FRG governments, and activists of the association of ex-Silesian Germans from putting a question mark over the Odra-Nysa frontier.

From the secret protocol of the meeting held by plenipotentiary Teltschik with a group of FRG journalists in Bonn on 7 November 1989, it emerges that Chancellor Kohl, when in Warsaw, would not go beyond the wording of the 1970 Treaty agreements—valid for almost 20 years—and would leave the German question, and within this, the fate of the Polish western and northern lands, quite open. Theo Waigel, leader of the Bavarian Christian Socialist Union, and the Minister of Finance in Kohl's cabinet, reminded us recently and publicly of Bonn's stance on this issue.

One of the aims of the Polish side, was to obtain a statement which would have confirmed the permanent nature of the Polish western frontier. The Poles—states the London TIMES—wanted an unequivocal declaration from Kohl that Polish western frontiers will not be questioned and will remain final. This did not happen. The accepted formula leaves the gate open for revisionists. Thus—writes the TIMES on 10 November—if it ever comes to a rapprochement between the East and West Germans, and they change their political shape, the matter of the border between Poland and Germany might again surface on the international agenda. Thus, in a matter which is of vital importance to Poland no further step was made which would secure our fundamental interests.

What about the other matters?

The exchanges of youth will undoubtedly act in bringing the FRG and Poland closer together. One has to assess in positive terms all the other agreements and protocols which address cooperation in the spheres of the economy, science, and technology, the protection of the environment, medicine, agriculture, forestry, the health service, and the food industry, and so on.

To this has to be added the German declaration about supporting Polish interests in the international financial community, such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the Paris Club. The agreement reached over the jumbo credit—namely, the loans to Poland in the 1970's—has to be seen as a success. From the sum of DM1 billion, DM760 million will be written-off, and the sum of DM540 will be converted into zlotys and designated for concrete investment undertakings in Poland.

It is to be regretted that Poland did not receive direct cash finance—which would have helped our economy—as happened in the case of FRG credits to the USSR, the GDR, and Hungary. Let us remember that the USSR received DM3 billion, from Chancellor Kohl's government, and the GDR and Hungary, received DM2 billion apiece.

In our case, Bonn only agreed to give us investment credit guarantees—not cash—to the tune of DM3 billion. This means that the Poles themselves will have to find those people in the FRG who are willing to give us credits, and a joint body, which still has to be established, will decide each time whether any particular investment project merits being included within the guarantee umbrella of the Bonn government.

Matters look worst in the issue which is so vital to many Polish families, namely compensation from the FRG for the forced labor of Poles and Polish victims of the war. As FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG on the 7 November reported, "Kucza always talked about such compensation in terms of billions of Deutschmarks,, but Pszon never raised the subject. There is nothing about compensation in the Joint Statement.

It is a sad reflection that this matter was not resolved in the general category of human rights. It is only—chronologically speaking—when TRYBUNA LUDU exposed the fact, when President Jaruzelski mentioned the problem when he received Chancellor Kohl, and later Premier Mazowiecki, that Chancellor Kohl declared he would give the matter further thought.

Thus, as concerns the results of Polish successes which are included in the Joint Statement, things look rather modest. Additionally, it has to be said that in these matters the Joint Statement contains more promises than concrete benefits.

I leave my initial assessment to our society's sober judgment.

Rakowski Interviewed on Krenz, German Events

AU2111110489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18-19 Nov 89 p 2

[Interview with Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, by unidentified PAP correspondent: "Europe—Germany—Poland"—date and place not given]

[Text] PAP: For 30 years, you have been actively involved with Poland's relations with the GDR and FRG in various ways. You wrote a doctoral thesis on the history of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, and held talks with successive leaders of both German states. You have written several books and hundreds of articles about the German problem. You took an active part in preparing the Polish-FRG treaty that was signed in December 1970. So why are you quiet now that the Berlin Wall is falling down, Helmut Kohl has visited Poland, and practically every single European and American politician has the German problem on his mind?

MFR: The opening of the borders between the GDR and FRG and between the GDR capital and West Berlin is the most important event in the history of Germany since the end of the 1940's, when two separate German states were finally established. My German friends know that I foresaw a chain of events like this. I was convinced it was just a question of time. The fall of the Wall came as no surprise to me. The entire logic of events in the socialist world and in East-West relations led inexorably to this occurrence. Practically the day before it happened, I held a frank and unusual talk on this subject with the new GDR leader, Egon Krenz. The Wall, which at the time of its construction reflected the economic, political, and military situation in that part of Europe, had become an intolerable anachronism to GDR society, a symbol of partition in the middle of Europe, and an embarrassing anachronism for the socialist world which is changing so much. I welcome the fall of the Wall, just as we all do. Nevertheless, I think that in consequence of this, a new situation for Poland and Europe has emerged, one that involves major problems. We have to adapt our political concepts that safeguard Polish national interests to this new situation.

PAP: Western and eastern statesmen have welcomed the fall of the Berlin Wall, stressing at the same time that free travel between the two German states does not mean at all that the question of German unification is on the agenda.

MFR: As long as the Wall stood firm, West European politicians and successive U.S. leaders freely aimed their speeches against it and won applause. That did not cost anything, and changed nothing. But now that the Wall really is down, they have to think hard about the position of their countries vis-a-vis the FRG, and also the GDR. Let us take France as an example. As we know, France aspires to become equal to the FRG, and is certainly worried at the prospect of a German power that is economically and politically dominant in western Europe. For other reasons, the United States too cannot remain indifferent to this prospect, which I think has been brought forward in time. In turn, the Soviet Union has several hundred thousand soldiers in the GDR, with a zone of military security that has been established on the Elbe River since 1945 (just like the U.S. zone in the FRG), and it would not like to see its military presence only reach as far as the Odra River, or even as far as the Bug River. Poland has a western and northern border that has been legally guaranteed by two states, among others; by the GDR, in the form of the Zgorzelec Treaty; and by the FRG, in the form of the 1970 treaty. However, the FRG maintains that if a united German state should reemerge, its eastern border ought to be the subject of negotiations, to be concluded by a peace treaty. The idea of a peace treaty 50 years after the war is a bit like giving a bride a wedding bouquet on her golden wedding anniversary. Did punitive wars ever end with a peace treaty? If they did, then is it not time that after thousands of years, Greece and Iran should conclude one?

The FRG chancellor happened to be in Warsaw when the Berlin Wall fell, paying a visit that was supposed to be a historic breakthrough in relations between the two countries. There was no breakthrough, and this word was deleted because the FRG did not agree with the fact that referring to the so-called German legal position had become anachronistic in the face of a uniting Europe and East-West detente. There was no unequivocal statement whereby a future united Germany would only reach as far as the Odra and Nysa Rivers, and the FRG made no ceremonious declaration to this effect to Poland, Europe, and the world. It did not happen, even though Premier Mazowiecki had said that a clear stance by the other side toward the problem of borders is a condition that must be fulfilled if the FRG is to be fully trusted. In that case, leaving all the nice speeches aside, the prospect of German unification means nothing to Poland except endless talks about borders, in other words a return to the controversy about our country's shape. If anyone thinks that talk of a united, peaceful, and free Europe will take the place of the guarantees provided by Poland's close alliance with the USSR and by the presence of Soviet divisions on the Elbe, then he is politically naive and fails to notice the difference between fact and fiction.

PAP: All right, but neither the East nor the West are saying that freedom of travel between the FRG and GDR is leading to the collapse of Europe's postwar political structure, in other words to the unification of Germany.

MFR: I will not repeat the same thing that Bush, Gorbachev, Kohl, and Mitterrand have said, for no turns of phrase will alter the chain of events which possesses its own economic and political logic. The collapse of the Wall has set in motion a process that will bring new features, forcing European governments to think deeply and ask themselves new questions. What do I predict? Mainly that the FRG will spend a lot of money on erasing the differences between the standard of living in the FRG and GDR. The FRG enjoys an annual trade surplus of many billions, and has economic and political reasons for as many GDR citizens to remain at home, for it is cheaper and politically more advantageous to support the GDR economy than to accommodate masses of GDR immigrants in the FRG. One can also assume that there is going to be a wave of people traveling from the FRG to the GDR in order to conduct business there. For those who have West German marks, most goods in the

GDR are several times cheaper than in the FRG. This could lead to the collapse of GDR prices and wages policy. Despite the different structures of the economies of the two German states, the process of economic unification will go ahead, and rather quickly. The transfer of people, books, films, and ideas will form the social, intellectual, and psychological prerequisites for unification. One could list many factors that hinder unification, but the main such factor remains the military factor, in other words the presence of U.S. divisions in the FRG and Soviet divisions in the GDR, plus both countries' membership of separate military pacts. Without the FRG, NATO will fall. Without the GDR, the Warsaw Pact will not be a factor that jointly determines the overall European situation.

The dissolution of both pacts is an ideal which we have supported for a long time. However, the question of the basis of Polish security and territorial integrity then poses itself. Today, Poland is economically weak and politically not too stable; its future still contains an unknown quantity.

PAP: Everyone is talking about a common European home, a peaceful Europe living in freedom, and a West European union of countries that will not put up a barrier against the changing eastern Europe. These processes, plus the process of American-Soviet disarmament and the disappearance of antagonism, involve a calm, peaceful, and positive future for Poland.

MFR: For me too, such a vision is very beautiful. However, I am not a political dilettante. As leader of a party that is firmly based on political realism, I cannot let myself be lulled by visions, declarations, doctrines, and mere words. I know how much they can all change. Ever since states have existed, their fate has been determined primarily by the balance of forces, and only secondarily by ideas and imagination. Before the war, Poland relied on Western guarantees and alliances, nonaggression pacts with Germany and the USSR, and balanced relations with its eastern and western neighbor, and everyone, including Hitler, declared their love of and desire for peace.

We must not live under illusions about the future of our country. In the new situation, we must constantly think about a real and concrete doctrine of Polish security, based on forecasting future events among our western and eastern neighbors and in Europe as a whole.

Despite the current fashion for various anti-Soviet postures and complaints and the calls for a settlement of scores with the Soviet Union, let me say this clearly: The processes that are occurring west of Poland require that our raison d'etat be based even more strongly on a close political and military alliance with the USSR. The pro-Western Polish right wing should not inherit its historic mistakes.

In view of what is happening along the GDR-FRG border, I think it is careless to demand a reduction of the Polish military potential and a decrease in Poland's military status in the Warsaw Pact. At the same time, the Polish concepts of national security must be open to the future and be capable of predicting the future, and not cling tenaciously to the past. After all, the all-European political structure in which we have lived for the past 45 years is ending, and whatever one says about it, we have been living in peace and national security.

Finally, please allow me to express a historical thought. Notice that in the course of just a few days, the citizens of the GDR have overthrown their government and party leadership, brought down the Wall, and started a world debate on unification and the Potsdam order, and that all this has taken place calmly, without a single window pane being smashed, and after working hours. Not one single hour was wasted in striking. Is this not worth thinking about, and not just here in Warsaw?

Trade Minister Comments on Visit to France

*LD1811223589 Warsaw PAP in English
2017 GMT 18 Nov 89*

[Text] Paris, Nov 18—Polish Minister of Industry Tadeusz Syryjczyk paid a visit to France this November 15-18. He was received by head of the French Government Michel Rocard, and held talks with his French counterpart Roger Fouroux, the Paris industrial and trade chamber and managements of a few French concerns willing to cooperate with Poland.

In the talks we tried to make the French side realize that it lags behind other Western states as regards the expansion of economic relations with Poland, Minister Syryjczyk told PAP. France was Poland's second economic partner in the 1970s, now it places seventh, he added.

The French side showed big interest in the intensification of its cooperation with Poland. Prime Minister Rocard said that France, seeing Poland's exceptionally difficult situation, decided to grant that country loans not waiting for her to sign an agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

The Aerospatiale concern and the Polish aircraft factory PZL signed a letter of intention on launching a joint production of a French multitask helicopter in Swidnik, Poland. It was also agreed that Polish aviation factories would start production of parts of French airplanes.

Jaruzelski Meets With Journalists on Media Role

*LD2011140589 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1300 GMT 20 Nov 89*

[Text] A meeting between President Wojciech Jaruzelski and journalists is in progress at the Belweder Palace. The subject of discussions concerns problems in the journalism profession. The issues of press independence; of addressing reason and not emotions; of not raising the prevailing temperature; and of finding an understanding between the two journalistic organizations are being raised.

Jaruzelski Address to Journalists

LD2111095589 Warsaw PAP in English
0142 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Report on meeting between President Wojciech Jaruzelski and journalists at Belweder Palace in Warsaw on 20 November; monitored PAP transmissions did not carry initial portion of this item—transmission begins with take two of a total of three PAP takes]

[Text] Krzysztof Sliwinski, GAZETA WYBORCZA: There are three political camps in Poland. The first comprises those who are not afraid of democracy in the face of changing relations in our part of the world. Here discussion about who is on the right and who on the left is of little significance. The second camp gathers those who are afraid of democracy. This is at the same time right- and left-wing totalitarianism. The third camp stands for the defined interests of peasants and the countryside. In light of this picture the rules of the journalists' game must change. Up to now the opposition was not so much criticized as attacked for their undertakings. The situation must evolve in a direction in which press criticism would reflect social opinion and not financial or police restrictions.

Jerzy Majka, TRYBUNA LUDU: We cannot agree on various issues. We differ in how we perceive Poland's interests. One should seek a plane of agreement wherever it can be achieved. There is a possibility and need to return to the arrangements of the "Round Table" on the matters of importance to Poland. We are only at the start of pluralism.

Bogdan Jachacz, PAP: The "Round Table" arrangements regarding a new information order are no utopia. Tremendous changes have taken place before our very own eyes, such as the amendment of the press law, the law on censorship, new titles and new publishing principles being established. Nonetheless, we are still far away from a new information order which must be arrived at in an evolutionary manner. Society must be admired for its patience. We should contribute to the strengthening of social peace. One must work out such a content of the term raison d'etat which would be acceptable by a majority of Poles.

Jaruzelski's Address

Taking the floor at the end of the discussion, President Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that the mass media should try to overcome various kinds of barriers, myths, ill-feelings, and inhibitions placing a burden on Poland's social life and hampering transformations.

We have tremendous chances. For the first time in our history we have good relations with both the East and West. One should maintain them. We also for the first time have such a big degree of social support for real power-holders. We also have millions of qualified people who have not said the last word as concerns their capacities to work, their talents and initiative.

There are nonetheless no less serious pitfalls: hyperinflation, falling production, an incompletely crystallized alignment of political forces, the threat of a various extreme mainstreams beginning operations, and growing contradictions between cities and the countryside.

The chances and pitfalls sum up, with the chances prevailing. they can be found, for example, in the cooperation of various forces within the framework of broad coalition. We must tread along the road of democracy and reforms. This our new Polish thinking, giving the upper hand to a search for joint solutions over ideological, class and systemic discrepancies. We face immense challenges of a not only Polish scope. We are precisely at such a moment that what is taking place in our country is not only our, Polish affair. The development of the situation in Europe will depend on us. This is a yardstick of our responsibility which we must submit to.

The current state is a great historic experiment, a great chance which must not be wasted. We must show that Poles are capable of covering this road without conflicts, deep disturbances, in harmony necessary for a modern state to not only hold its ground in Europe but to develop, Jaruzelski stated at the end of his address.

The president announced that he would share his reflections from the discussion with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

Editorial on RZECZPOSPOLITA Policy

AU1711144289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA
in Polish 14 Nov 89 pp 1,2

[Editorial by RZECZPOSPOLITA Editor in Chief Dariusz Fikus: "What RZECZPOSPOLITA Will Be Like"]

[Text] Poland is changing from one day to the next. Perhaps it is not changing as fast as we would like, but the changes are already noticeable. The world around us is also changing in a way that sometimes takes our breath away. Walls are falling and authorities collapsing, to say nothing of monuments. RZECZPOSPOLITA must keep abreast of these changes.

We have just received a report on a survey carried out among RZECZPOSPOLITA readers in autumn 1988. The report was prepared by Dr Zbigniew Bajka of the Press Investigations Center in Krakow. It concludes that such a paper as ours is essential, for it is the only source of rapid information for the leaderships of state administrative offices and managements of enterprises about the intentions, proposals, and decisions of the government and individual ministries. But that is only one of its functions. If that were all it had to do, an official bulletin would have been enough.

The reader will seek a newspaper through which it is possible not only to communicate, but also to establish ideological connections. That is the kind of well-informed daily that RZECZPOSPOLITA, a paper of the Polish intelligentsia, would like to be.

Our paper is read by the Polish bureaucracy in the positive sense of the word. This bureaucracy is going to change, in line with the other changes happening in the country. We would like to accompany these changes. We receive many questions: By changing its profile, will the paper not lose its best qualities? In the 1988 survey, 50 percent of respondents said that those qualities were prompt information about legal regulations and changes in this sphere, plus texts of these regulations, resolutions, and laws. I can assure everyone that there will be no changes in this sphere, apart from the fact that we will try to work even better and present all this information more clearly and concisely.

The survey also supplies other conclusions. The first of them is about the composition of our readership. Readers are usually men (80 percent of the respondents to the survey were men). That is understandable, in view of the fact that RZECZPOSPOLITA's readership contains a major proportion of managerial cadres, in other words presidents, chairmen, and directors, and in Poland these are usually males. The women who answered the survey were mainly bookkeepers and employees of financial, personnel, or social departments of various bodies. We must change this composition of our readership. We would also like to be read by the fairer sex, which of course is an influential part of Polish society. We will attempt to win women's trust by means of good articles and topics that match the taste and interest of this group of readers.

The age of our readers is even more disturbing. Mostly elderly people have been reading us. Of those who answered the survey, 55 percent were above 50, and the lowest percentage was of young people of below 30. Compared to the actual age structure of the RZECZPOSPOLITA readership as revealed by the Public Opinion Research Center, this signifies a slight shift "upwards," but that is because many of those who answered the survey were pensioners. Even so, we have not been read much by young people, and this we note with concern, convinced that we must alter this state of affairs. But we will only be able to do this if we alter the paper's content and adapt it to the expectations, needs, and interests of young people. We are counting on a fresh influx of young readers, especially those who take active part in the formation of self-management bodies.

We are a paper of the intelligentsia. The average reader's education is very high. Over 50 percent have completed further education. The core of the readership (over 27 percent) consists of people describing themselves as "state officials," but on closer inspection these are usually nothing more than senior clerks. Some 23 percent consists of economists, followed by those in the independent professions—lawyers, teachers, doctors, engineers, and financial experts. Every fifth respondent said he was a manager.

Summing up this data, one can hazard the guess that our typical reader is male; living in a major city; aged over 40; educated; and at the peak of professional, social, and political activity.

Does he also support the Mazowiecki government? If we conclude that our average reader is a typical member of the Polish intelligentsia, then he is bound to support the policies of the coalition government. He is bound to be a critical-minded observer of reality and possess a desire to understand the processes occurring in Poland. However, one cannot rule out the fact that the Polish administrative leadership contains many people who criticize this government's doings or are skeptical of them, to say nothing of those who are downright opponents of it.

Therefore, it is our paper's task to convince our readers about these policies and this government. We are not an "appendage" stuck to the Mazowiecki government, as Piotr Wierzbicki said we are in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. We are not offended by that term, but as opponents to the conspiratorial theory of history, we would not like anyone to attach any labels to us.

We want to produce an honest informative paper. We will try to present information about the government's work, intentions, and ideas. We feel ideologically close to Deputy Premier Balcerowicz's program, and we do not intend to hide that fact. But neither will we hide our dissatisfaction or criticism if we consider it justified. We want to present information more clearly than is the custom in the Polish press, and speak to our readers objectively in the form of commentaries or reports by our staffers.

Legal, economic, and financial topics, so important at a time when major political and economic transformations are taking place in Poland, will continue to dominate, just as they have done so far.

After a period of a certain support for the Mazowiecki government, we are entering a period in which government support by the press, still dominated by the party-governed Workers Publishing Cooperative, is not the best. The accusations against and demands made on the government are often contradictory. Some people call for faster and more determined action, while others call for action that belongs to the era of commands and directives, as if they have forgotten that the old, decadent system no longer functions, and that the new market-oriented system does not function yet. Therefore, resorting to instruments of the previous era is no longer possible, but market mechanisms cannot become operational all of a sudden. In a market economy, there is always a struggle to make them operational, but good does not always prevail.

People also very often forget that the Mazowiecki government is acting at a time of friction between various options, that it is a coalition government, that it consists of various parties and currents existing side by side, and that, unlike all previous governments, it has to reach decisions that are a compromise between all the forces that clash inside it. It always takes longer to work out solutions that appeal to everyone. Finally, this government is dealing with an energetic parliament which is also becoming a participant in the political contest. Therefore, RZECZPOSPOLITA will have to reveal this entire stage and all the actors on it.

Our readers only have a few days left to renew their subscriptions for the first quarter of 1990. We think a subscription is the best way of guaranteeing regular receipt of our newspaper.

Of the 250,000-copy circulation of our daily, 88 percent is sent to subscribers. Only about 29,000 copies a day are sold in kiosks. This is an unhealthy situation both in economic terms (we are being eaten by inflation), and in readership terms. It is annoying that it is impossible to buy our paper in the morning. We will try to change that, but it will depend on our readers. Will they want to buy our paper? We cannot count on subsidies or alms.

We want to make greater use of the paper for economic purposes, print so-called yellow pages of advertisements, and be an intermediary between, on the one hand, the Polish world of business and Polish enterprises and, on the other hand, foreign clients who would like to invest their money in Poland or enter our market with their goods and technologies. We will not perform this service for nothing, but we would like these contacts to take place by means of uninhibited dialogue in the columns of our paper, not inside offices.

We are counting on the support of our readers, those who have known us for years, and those who will want to get to know us tomorrow.

Polish Banks: 'Banks Without Money'

LD2011235189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] And a new problem, a new specific Polish characteristic: banks without money. Reports are coming in from many parts of Poland about empty tills. Farmers awaiting payments for grain and meat were maliciously advised by the Food Economy Bank in Lomza, for example, to apply to Premier Mazowiecki. The farmers did not draw any money, they will not pay their taxes on time, and, as a result, the wheel turns full circle.

Mazowiecki Appoints National Bank Vice Presidents

LD1811050589 Warsaw PAP in English 0125 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—Following the motion of the president of the National Bank of Poland recalled Leszek Urbanowicz and Wladyslaw Jaworski from the posts of vice-presidents and thanked them for their work at these post. [sentence as received] In their place the prime minister appointed Andrzej Topinski and Andrzej Olechowski, the latter to be the 1st vice-president of the bank.

Andrzej Topinski worked for the Centre for the Solidarity Social- Occupational Studies in the years 1980-1981 and took part in the round table conference as member of the group for economy and social policy, to which he was recommended by the Citizens' Committee by Lech Walesa.

Andrzej Olechowski was recently director of department in the Ministry for foreign Economic Relations. He was the chief negotiator of the agreement on trade and economic cooperation with the European Community and took part in the round table conference as member of the team for economy and social policy.

Gasoline, Diesel Prices Rise 19 Nov

LD2011170689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1318 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] At the end of the news, here is a communique. With reference to earlier announcements about the imperative introduction of progressive increases in fuel prices, the CPN [State Petroleum Agency] announces that on 19 November, the prices of engine fuels will change. A liter of 94-grade gasoline will cost 950 zloty; 86-grade will cost 900 zloty. A liter of diesel will cost 750 zloty.

Continuation of Prison Revolt in Gdansk Reported

LD2011220189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Yesterday [19 November] evening, over 700 detainees and arrestees broke out of their cells in the remend center in Gdansk. They took over all sections and are occupying the roof of the building. This revolt constitutes a continuation of the protest that has been going on since Saturday [18 November]. Earlier, the governor of the remand center talked with the protest committee that has been organized. The prisoners are protesting against the repressive nature of the penal law. In their view, the amnesty should be significantly wider than that proposed. Talks with senators and Sejm deputies have been demanded.

Blockade of Reactor Parts Delivery Continues

LD2011125689 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] As we have already informed you, on Saturday the Yugoslavian ship, (Lepat?), which has on board reactor vessels for the nuclear power station at Zarnowiec, was unloaded at the container terminal in Gdynia. The ship has already left Gdynia port, but the reactor vessels continue to stand on the container terminal quay. Their transportation was to have begun this morning. This, however, proved impossible, since members of youth ecological movements from the coastal region and from many other Polish cities, who had decided to protest against the construction of the power station through so-called passive resistance, by not permitting parts of the reactor to leave the port, gathered in front of the port gates. The protest continues.

Meanwhile, the organizers of the transport, now wanting to postpone the whole operation, which may be conducted only during daytime due to complicated technical operations, today called off the departure of this consignment from the port. It is uncertain when the reactor vessels will arrive in Zarnowiec, since no decision concerning the date of their departure has been taken.

More Army Units To Be Disbanded 20, 22 Nov

LD1711211889 Warsaw PAP in English
2030 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—More Polish Army units will be disbanded in the coming days as part of the restructuring of the armed forces now under way in Poland.

Soldiers of the 23rd regiment of medium-sized tanks will take part in an official call in Slubice on Monday, November 20, for the last time while in Krosno Odrzanskie—soldiers of the 11th mechanized regiment.

A similar ceremony will take place in the 3rd regiment of medium-sized tanks in Zagan on November 22 and in the 24th Dresden regiment of medium-sized tanks in Stargard Szczecinski next day, on Thursday.

Swiecicki Urges Changes in Trade Policy

PM1711135489 Warsaw POLITYKA
in Polish 21 Oct 89 p 5

[Interview with Minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation Marcin Swiecicki by POLITYKA correspondents Jerzy Kleer, Jacek Poprzeczko, and Pawel Tarnowski—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Reporter] We cannot deny that we were rather taken aback by your accession to the office of head of the foreign trade sector. Considering your earlier professional career and your work on the Planning Commission and, later, with the Consultative Economic Council, we expected a different solution, for example that you would be entrusted with one of the key functions in the Central Planning Office or the Finance Ministry. How did someone from outside the foreign trade sector's internal personnel, someone who stood on the sidelines, as it were, become head of the Ministry for Foreign Economic Cooperation?

[Swiecicki] It is true that I had other proposals. Premier Mazowiecki suggested that I should head the Central Planning Office. However, after subsequent talks between the PZPR leadership and the premier it was agreed that the foreign trade sector should be headed by a party member. Naturally, I was not the only candidate for this office.

[Reporter] And the outcome is that you will now handle matters which are perhaps not altogether unfamiliar to you but still somewhat removed from your previous areas of concern. Is this perhaps not too great a risk for all concerned?

[Swiecicki] I was fully aware of the advantages and the shortcomings of my candidacy. I gave a good deal of thought to whether I should accept the post, and I was weighing it in my mind right until the moment of final decision. What helped me make up my mind was the belief that I could be of use in a government which had a real chance to implement an economic program very close to my own conceptions of what should be done to effect an economic recovery. In addition, for the past few years I had quite a lot to do with foreign trade matters in my work on the Planning Commission and the Consultative Economic Council, so I am not as unfamiliar with these issues as you might think.

Moreover, there is yet another aspect to be considered: I am confident that I will be able to master all the "trade secrets" and technical details of the running of the sector, but these are not of ultimate importance and I do not intend to concentrate on them. My major task will be to adjust the foreign trade mechanisms so that they are in tune with the overall government policy. Technical matters are a question of correct adjustment of the apparatus itself.

[Reporter] Before we move on to more fundamental issues, let us ask you just one particular question concerning a matter which provoked an exceptional public outcry. What was the aim of the recent drastic increases in customs tariffs which affected a large number of consumer goods? Was it to rescue the state budget or perhaps to put an abrupt stop to imports and thereby protect the monopoly-based position of national industry?

[Swiecicki] There is a misunderstanding here. Most consumer goods can be brought into the country duty-free. The introduction of higher customs tariffs for a few kinds of goods is of a temporary nature and was necessitated by, among other things, the complete chaos prevailing in the alcohol market and the need to reduce our budget deficit. With current levels of inflation, the earlier rates of customs duties had ceased to be of any real significance both for the treasury and importers. Now customs tariffs are higher but they still fail to represent any real import barriers. For example, customs duty on imported cars is still only one-third of what it was in 1985, in terms of the corresponding free-market dollar exchange rates.

On the other hand it is obvious that the present customs rates system is faulty in many respects and that it is necessary to reform it as soon as possible. This is why next year we will introduce a new customs tariff featuring uniform rates for all importers. This will eliminate the category of the so-called noncommercial market. At the same time we will doubtless carry out an assessment of the expediency of the present customs tariff rates and probably introduce the necessary changes. In my opinion the sooner this is done, the better.

[Reporter] Let us now return to the main question: that of the fundamental canons of your proposed economic policy.

[Swiecicki] My reasoning goes as follows: No reform of our economic system stands a chance without Poland's opening to the West. If this is really to take place we need a convertible zloty, a greater derestriction of our commerce, and essential changes in relations between Poland and other CEMA countries.

[Reporter] This program is not new. Its implementation will take months, if not years. What can you do—and what do you want to do—now, today, to stem the clearly worsening decline in Poland's export performance observed in recent months, a decline lethal to our import capacity and consequently leading to a decline in our industrial production?

[Swiecicki] On the contrary, it is a new program. Until now the question of the zloty's convertibility was treated as just a fine slogan whose implementation was forever being put off. In practice a so-called "submarginal" rate was applied instead of a balanced exchange rate. Furthermore, the transition to convertible currencies in our trade turnover with CEMA countries has not progressed to date beyond the stage of preliminary studies. As regards the present situation, I agree that Polish export levels are indeed falling dangerously low and we have no solution to this situation other than a further devaluation of the zloty before the end of the year.

[Reporter] You could still do something else. You could devalue the currency for domestic purposes and at the same time offer even larger tax concessions to exporters—perhaps even subsidies?

[Swiecicki] This would be completely contrary to the general tenets of the government's economic policy. Subsidies must be, and will be, reduced accordingly. The system of allocating hard currency allowances to enterprises depending on their foreign sales revenue is also an artificial measure. We must put an end to the institutional "gifts from the Christmas tree." The principal element of financial support for our exports mechanisms should be provided by the currency exchange policy. The universal application of tax allowances has to date been only a substitute for our currency's excessively low official exchange rate.

[Reporter] And in this way the dispute between the Finance Ministry and the Foreign Economic Cooperation Ministry over the preferred methods of stimulating Polish exports and creating particularly favorable conditions for exporters will be brought to an end before our very eyes. Your predecessors did not give in so easily. Are you not afraid that you could be charged with "betraying" the interests of Polish exporters?

[Swiecicki] Foreign trade is not a remote island in the sea of national economy, an island on which you can apply a set of your own separate rules. In the analytical studies that we prepare at the Ministry we must not forget about the national budget or ignore the requirements and capacities of the economy as a whole. I came to the Ministry from outside and indeed I do not favor a particularistic attitude to the Polish foreign trade.

[Reporter] But such an approach—whereby you choose to limit your maneuvers to making adjustments in the exchange rate of our currency and to leave the whole sphere of foreign trade to the interplay of market forces—seems to be a policy of laissez-faire taken to unreasonable extremes. Many Asian countries, including Japan, South Korea, and others, followed a different course for decades and have profited from it.

[Swiecicki] Let me, then, specify what I mean. I do permit tax allowances to be granted in exceptional circumstances. We could consider such solutions in the case of certain exports-promoting investment projects or temporary measures involving exports of surplus agricultural produce. But we must not allow such exceptions to become the rule. The majority of our export transactions must be based on sound market principles. Otherwise the whole enterprise becomes senseless.

[Reporter] What will happen to the system of compulsory sale [to the state] of hard currencies earned by exporters?

[Swiecicki] It will, of course, be scrapped as soon as the zloty becomes convertible. If we do not manage to achieve this quickly, in one move, then the compulsory currency sale will remain in force longer. At the same time we will probably be able to combine all the previously held currency auction schemes into a single currency exchange which will handle increasing amounts of hard currencies, if only because the levels of centrally controlled imports will necessarily be falling. An additional advantage will be that the hard currency exchange rates and the official exchange rates should then begin to converge. This interim solution could be maintained for a longer period if it became obvious that a rapid introduction of the convertible zloty would prove too risky.

[Reporter] What conditions must be met if we are to find this risk acceptable?

[Swiecicki] We must have a well-designed program of anti-inflation measures and we must implement it consistently. If we do not counteract the monetary outflow, all our attempts at introducing a convertible zloty could cause more harm than good. Furthermore, we must secure a stabilization loan for that purpose from the IMF. Without hard currency reserves held by the bank we would have to face violent fluctuations in supply and demand and also in currency market quotations. As a result, we would have a situation of utter confusion in the currency market on our hands. A realistic appraisal of our position suggests that such an attempt should not be made earlier than next year.

[Reporter] All your predecessors tried—with different results—to breathe some more life into Poland's foreign trade. They attempted to achieve this in many ways by applying a variety of methods. Accordingly, the past 18 months or so have seen the slogans: "More freedom to exporters" and "Strong foreign trade is the way to a modernization of our economy." Still earlier, the creation of the small foundation for the restructuring of Polish exports was expected to help improve the structure of our exports and also industrial production as a whole. Which features of these old programs—programs which, after all, did occasionally bring quite good results—do you intend to exploit in your own actions? Will similar undertakings be introduced?

[Swiecicki] I am generally against export promotion programs based on offering support to select branches of industry and promoting—sometimes unjustifiably—special export-oriented production, or carrying out special anti-import campaigns. Our previous experience has proved that this way leads nowhere and there is simply no point in return to it.

In my opinion a good export promotion strategy should consist in striving for a full demonopolization of both production and distribution sectors, providing a uniform rate of exchange, ensuring an equilibrium in the domestic market—this being a very important element of the whole strategy, since it encourages interest in exporting—and finally, implementing a consistent export campaign and aiming at signing advantageous international agreements which can offer Polish producers easier access to foreign markets. Another important element of such a strategy should be to secure more concrete assistance from foreign investors and anyone else who may be interested in setting up joint ventures in Poland. There must also be a free flow of commercial information, and so on. On the other hand, I am not at all interested in boosting production in special "export-oriented" industrial sectors designated as such by officials.

[Reporter] But state-backed programs to promote "industries of the future" have brought very good results. In this respect, Japan's Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) presents an example worth following even today. Do you not feel that we are thus depriving ourselves of a number of opportunities for influencing the pace and direction of economic changes?

[Swiecicki] I believe that the only sensible measure here is to extend assistance to those particular firms which can come up with sound investment and export programs. This is the policy pursued by the Export Development Bank, which carries out detailed viability analyses of investment projects. We ought to have more institutions of this kind. On the other hand, I am against extending "advance" guarantees and financial support to an indiscriminate number of companies only because they happen to belong to a modern or "development-geared" industry.

[Reporter] Over past years we have seen a distinct—though still insufficient—liberalization of our foreign trade laws and regulations. A door has been pushed ajar for foreign capital to enter our markets. But now it turns out that foreign investors cannot operate within the confines of these supposedly eased regulations. Some of them give up amid the maze of bureaucratic procedures. They are discouraged by the inconsistency of our laws and regulations and by their arbitrary interpretation, as well as by the passivity of their Polish partners. Can the Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation help them? And does he want to?

[Swiecicki] You can have perfectly sound regulations and perfectly good legislative provisions side by side with appalling economic practice. Unfortunately this is the case with us. Foreign investors are discouraged not only by bureaucracy but also by the deplorable standard of our banking services, lamentable condition of Polish communications and telecommunications networks, materials shortages, dismal transportation system, and difficulties at border crossings. Personally, I am doing what I can to make other government members realize—though most of them are very well aware of it anyway—that we really cannot expect any sizable foreign capital influx here unless we make drastic improvements in all these areas. I have just come back from a visit to the Polonia Forum in Poznan and I can tell you that even the staunchest "pioneering souls" who were the first to invest their capital in Poland are by now losing their stamina and patience, worn down by the appalling infrastructural and institutional difficulties. They are thinking of pulling out at the very moment when our reforms have seem to have been given a new lease of life and are taking off with renewed vigor.

[Reporter] But surely the interest taken in Poland by potential foreign investors still seems strong.

[Swiecicki] True, all the recent changes in Poland have resulted in a renewed, lively interest on the part of foreign investors. We still have a large and qualified labor force here. Nevertheless, there is still a long way between an exploratory market survey and the launching of a big business. Too many candidates back out after taking a close look at the realities of our daily practice.

[Reporter] Inevitably you will soon come up against the same routine dilemma as your predecessors: What should we protect and promote as a priority—exports or the domestic market and consumption? In the long term, of course, there is no discrepancy between these two objectives. In the short term, however, they are mutually incompatible. We still live in an economy beset by shortages and we would like to know whether you intend to encourage producers—and not by verbal exhortations alone—to opt for exporting their goods instead of designating them for the domestic market, which for the time being appears insatiable, although this insatiability is surely an illusion.

[Swiecicki] If this "economy of shortages" which we suffer at the moment were to be a long-term prospect, then all our attempts at transforming the economic system would be senseless and futile. As long as producers are able to sell the majority of their goods on the domestic market—quickly, easily and at a huge profit—they will pay little heed to ministerial exhortations encouraging them to export them instead. After all, it involves far more effort to export your goods than to sell them at home.

[Reporter] There are still other troublesome tasks which you will have to face in your new post. Our economic relations with CEMA countries are in urgent need of revision, especially as regards our commercial accounts settlement systems, principles of cooperation, and the investment exchange schemes. How do you propose to tackle this complex issue?

[Swiecicki] In future the principles of our commercial exchange with socialist countries will have to be the same as with any other country in the world. All financial accounts should be settled in convertible currencies and contracts should be signed by producers and their agents instead of government representatives. Long-term international agreements will be phased out. We will also do away with the separate categories of production: export production to be sold for rubles, export production to be sold for hard currencies, and production for the domestic market. Industrial and commercial profitability will no longer be calculated according to artificial exchange rates. The rules of the game will be standardized. Then, and only then, will we be able to draw maximum profit form our participation in the international distribution of labor.

Of course, this is a long-term program aimed ultimately at achieving our final objectives. It will have to be implemented gradually, in small steps, in conjunction with partners who at least partly share our ideas. Therefore it is not unlikely that we will begin by basing our commercial relations with Hungary and the Soviet Union on sound financial principles and then gradually move on to introduce the same rules in our relations with other CEMA countries. To begin with, our representatives will attempt to interest the other countries in such solutions in the CEMA forum and in bilateral talks. We shall then see whether these talks bring any results.

[Reporter] It is not only from foreign partners that you are likely to encounter resistance to this scheme.

[Swiecicki] I am fully aware that our proposal will mean a lot of trouble for many enterprises at home which have become accustomed to exporting their products exclusively to socialist countries. They are used to subsidies, compensatory payments, and long-term contracts. They have never had to make any efforts to compete with foreign rivals in world markets. In the future, when we withdraw the protective umbrella of international government agreements which used to screen them from the real world and when they realize that they have to compete for contracts with other firms, their illusory comfort will come to an abrupt end and the realization may come as a dramatic shock to some of them.

[Reporter] Your program is certainly both sound and reasonable in the long term. But will the country as a whole benefit from it now and in the immediate future? The Soviet Union can sell its oil and other raw materials for hard currencies anywhere in the world. But we have no assurance that Soviet firms—which can pay in dollars and are therefore free to choose from many markets—will be inclined to buy machines, equipment, or food from Poland in preference to anywhere else.

[Swiecicki] Let us not fool ourselves. Initially we will have considerable trouble with this problem. We must assume that a proportion of Polish producers will be unable to meet the new requirements. But this will only be a transition period. In the long run our economy can only gain from such changes.

[Reporter] It is not only producers and exporters who will have to face grave problems in such a system: The finance minister will have trouble too. It is highly likely that our balance of trade with socialist countries will deteriorate as a result. How can we hope to survive such a difficult transition period?

[Swiecicki] I have already said that we will most probably begin by changing our system of financial accounts with just one or two countries. We will also recommend that this initially apply only to several select groups of goods while the remaining bulk of our trade should be conducted according to the old system. It is obvious that we cannot drop all our producers in at the deep end right away because they would drown all too easily. But the direction of the changes is very clear.

[Reporter] When can we expect these changes?

[Swiecicki] At the moment we are conducting preliminary, exploratory talks on the whole issue. In any case, no substantial changes will be possible before 1991. Until then we are bound by previously signed long-term international agreements.

[Reporter] Is there any point now in keeping such an organization as CEMA?

[Swiecicki] I believe there is. But we must really do our utmost to change its existing rules of mutual cooperation, accounting, and commercial exchange. In its present shape CEMA has unquestionably outlived its usefulness.

[Reporter] An alternative solution has recently gained many supporters: that we should initiate procedures for Poland's acceptance as a member of the EEC.

[Swiecicki] This is an alluring prospect, albeit a distant one. I believe it will only become realistic when all military blocs disappear from Europe and when political and economic divisions begin to lose their significance. We signed our first commercial agreement with the EEC in September. We are also looking for further favorable international openings for our commerce.

[Reporter] Thank you for talking to us.

Senate Adopts Amnesty Law Extension 16 Nov

LD1811110789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] The Senate Commission for Human Rights and the Abiding of Law has deemed it necessary to extend the scope of the amnesty law adopted by the Sejm yesterday [16 November]. The issue is to limit the number of exclusions envisioned by the amnesty in applying the privilege of pardon and the inclusion of incorrigible offenders. If the Senate does not accept the amnesty law as adopted by the Sejm the deputies will have to reconsider it.

Second Congress of Liberals Opens in Gdansk

LD1911030889 Warsaw PAP in English 2104 GMT 18 Nov 89

[Text] Gdansk, Nov 18—Nearly 300 supporters of liberal trends in economy and politics met in Gdansk to take part in the 2nd Congress of Liberals which opened today.

The meeting was organized by the "Gdansk Congress of Liberals" Association, registered only a few days ago, and the debate is being held under the motto "There is no freedom without property rights". On the first day, the discussion focused on property rights and capital market in Poland, new enterprise and functioning of joint ventures.

As regards the political current of the congress, liberals intend to map out a concept of post-communist society in Poland and reflect on the future and possible organizational frames of its movement.

The congress is attended by a delegation of the Italian Liberal Party, and liberals of the FRG, Great Britain, the U.S. and Canada.

Liberals Support Mazowiecki

LD1911223189 Warsaw PAP in English 2126 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Gdansk, Nov. 19—While making use of the practical experiences and achievements of our milieus, we are ready to take co-responsibility for the future of Poland, said liberals in their resolution adopted here today, on the last day of the 2nd Congress of Liberals which rallied nearly 300 liberals, representatives of the most important centres and associations of this orientation in Poland.

The movement is to be represented by a National Congress of Liberals (KKL) with two leading centres in Warsaw and Gdansk. The setting up of the KKL is an initial step towards the creation of a political party whose founding congress is due to take place by the end of the year.

In conclusion of the congress attended also by representatives of liberal parties from Italy, the FRG, Great Britain, the U.S., Canada, its participants signed a statement expressing support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

Workers Issue Statement on No Representation

LD1911212889 Warsaw PAP in English 1942 GMT 19 Nov 89

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 19—Members of the movement of working people held a meeting at the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation]] All-Poland Trade Union Alliance headquarters in Warsaw November 18-19.

A statement delivered to PAP reads: The working people today have no political representation. When they held power, PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] elites were not able to defend the basic interests of workers and the working people. The elites of the new Solidarnosc have treated working people as a springboard to seizing power."

14th RCP Congress Starts Session 20 Nov

AU2111072689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2150 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/11/1989—The 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], an event of historic significance in the life of the country and of our nation, started Monday, 20 November, under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

The congress is attended by 3,308 delegates elected by the conferences of the county and Bucharest City Party organizations.

A large number of invited guests also take part.

The congress is attended by foreign delegates representing communist, socialist, social democratic, progressive, democratic parties and organizations, national liberation movements with which the Romanian Communist Party has ties of collaboration and solidarity.

Present were the heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Bucharest as well as many foreign press correspondents, special envoys of press agencies, dailies, radio and television stations abroad.

In the Republic Palace Hall, which hosts the congress, the prevailing atmosphere was characteristic of the outstanding events in the life of the Romanian party and people.

The national anthem of the Socialist Republic of Romania was solemnly played.

Nicolae Ceausescu opened the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party.

Nicolae Ceausescu was elected chairman of the 14th Party Congress.

Then the presidium was unanimously elected as well as the other working bodies of the congress. The presidium also included the foreign chief delegates participant in the congress.

The delegates adopted the congress agenda in unanimity:

1. Report on the present stage of the Romanian Socialist Society, on the Central Committee's activity between the 13th and the 14th Congresses, on the fulfillment of the programme-directive for economic and social development under the Ninth Five-Year Plan and beyond, until the years 2000-2010, for the firm implementation of the programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's advance to communism.

2. Report of the Central Audit Commission.

3. Draft programme-directive regarding Romania's socioeconomic development in 1991-1995 and the guidelines till 2000-2010.

4. Election of the RCP general secretary, of the Party Central Committee and the Central Audit Commission.

Also approved were the rules of the Congress that will be held over 20-24 November, in plenary meetings and by sections.

To the ovations of the attendance, Nicolae Ceausescu started to read, from the rostrum of the great forum, the report listed as the first item of the agenda.

The proceedings of the congress were resumed in plenum on Monday afternoon. Ilie Verdet read the report of the Central Audit Commission, and Constantin Radu that of the Credentials Commission. Debates were held next on the items listed in the agenda. The speakers were highly appreciative of the report read by Nicolae Ceausescu in the opening session, stressing that it thoroughly surveyed the current development stage and prospects of the Romanian society, as well as the tendencies and developments in the international life.

Fulfilling the mandate entrusted to them by their party organizations and expressing the firm will of the communists, of all working people, the participants in the debates voiced their full approval of the proposal regarding Nicolae Ceausescu's reinvestiture with the office of RCP general secretary.

In their addresses the speakers underscored the outstanding achievements scored by the Romanian people in the ongoing five-year interval, throughout the period elapsed since the ninth party congress, reiterating their full adhesion to the RCP and Romanian state home and foreign policy.

The proceedings of the congress continue.

Commentary Defends Superiority of Socialism

AU1611223089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 16 Nov 89

["The Imperialist Circles' Policy of Destabilizing Socialism, a Policy Doomed to Failure—A Commentary in 16 November SCINTEIA, Excerpts"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/11/1989—Against the background of the current international political life, the reactionary, imperialist circles started a genuine offensive against socialism, aiming to destabilize the situation in the socialist countries, to undermine socialism, weaken its position on a world plane. Reaching probably the conclusion that the time is favourable for them, these circles want to benefit by certain defeatist manifestations and liquidatory tendencies in some socialist countries and, taking their wishes for realities, try to turn the clock back.

In the spirit of its consistently principled position, RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, in the exposition he delivered to a recent enlarged plenary meeting of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, gave a firm, categorical reply to the reactionary circles' destabilizing attempts, disclosing their profoundly retrograde, antisocialist and antipopular essence, and showing that such attempts are doomed to failure this time, too, like many times before.

In their actions, the imperialist circles resort to highly diverse means taken over from the old and rusty panoply of the "cold war": from a farfetched propaganda aimed at discrediting socialism whose viability proved by history they negate and predict its upcoming disappearance, to actions of misinforming public opinion, from pressures, blackmail and diversion to direct financing of antisocialist, antinational forces and groups. The peoples' fundamental, supreme values and historical gains are thus brought to question again. Taking advantage of the phenomena of crisis and political confusion in certain countries, they give solutions for a way out of the labyrinth of difficulties they encounter, and offer, with a false generosity, economic and financial aids. The price? Renunciation of socialism.

Unfortunately, such a "concentric offensive" against socialism is facilitated by the defensive, capitulating policy of some countries which ignore the truth that "the alternative" suggested by the reactionary circles is as they have no scruple to recognize a comeback to capitalism. But several measures adopted in some of these countries under the mask of "renewal" do but stimulate interference in their domestic affairs.

The events daily reported by the press in the respective countries stand a telling proof of it. The imperialist circles have come into coalition and take joint action, financing the declasees, the agents of foreign forces, the spies, the traitors to the country and to the cause of social progress, the reactionary circles which form various groupings and "opposition" organizations and take open action against the state order.

Under the impact of the temptation of a "concentric attack" on socialism, as anticommunist ideologists call such actions, ignoring the lessons of history, the reactionary forces in the West have been unprecedentedly mobilized and called upon to interfere in the socialist countries' internal affairs.

There is no doubt that such measures are encouraged which violate the basic principles of socialism as renunciation, including amendments to constitutional acts, of the leading role of the party, elimination and undermining of socialist property, and removal of the democratic structures and bodies of the new system.

It is a fact that by their "strategy" the reactionary circles speculate on the state of general confusion generated in some socialist countries by the economic difficulties they encounter as well as by certain erroneous orientations and tendencies in solving problems. It is quite clear that in their attempts to deviate peoples from the socialist way of development, the imperialist forces have attracted not only the big monopolies but also some international financial bodies.

The model proposed would replace thus a society based on social justice and equality, a society in which man's exploitation by man was liquidated for good and all, in which each citizen has his right to work, to home, to education, to social assistance guaranteed, in one word has a decent life, in which conditions are provided for the full assertion of human personality.

It goes without saying that a solution to the multifarious problems of the present-day world calls for a realistic policy apt to appropriately meet the peoples' interests, strictly observe national independence and their right to freely choose their development path. That is why it is inconceivable that peoples' most remarkable achievements like the gains of socialism and national independence obtained after long fights and tremendous sacrifice become money of exchange.

The experience of scores upon scores of peoples, the example-giving experience of the Romanian people that has never capitulated or bent its head before any aggression prove that such supreme values as socialism, liberty, independence are not and cannot be negotiable under any circumstance and for any reason.

In the RCP's opinion the way to a new thinking and policy, so ardently wished by peoples, does not and cannot pass through renunciation of advanced conceptions, of the progressive, socialist ideology but through the ever stronger assertion of this ideology, through a policy apt to fully meet the interests of the masses of people, the cause of building and developing the new system.

Like in many other circumstances, now more than ever before one should show revolutionary vigilance, higher combativity to the reactionary trends of thought, to any attempt on the gains of socialism, whatever the concealing mask it would take on, just as relentlessness against the attempts to slander and undermine socialism. Which also entails high responsibility, unswerving attachment to the revolutionary principles, to the destinies of socialism and peace, confidence in the peoples' ability to surmount any difficulties and to make the retrograde forces' intentions and projects fail.

All this requires the strengthening of collaboration and solidarity of the progressive forces everywhere in their fight against imperialism, against its attempts to destabilize the situation in the socialist countries, to undermine the achievements of socialism, promote a policy of domination and oppression, of interference in internal affairs and of infringement of peoples' independence and sovereignty. Undoubtedly, by working in concert, the progressive forces, the socialist states, the peoples will be able to ultimately stop such antisocialist tendencies and actions against the peoples' independence, and guarantee the success of their fight for the development and consolidation of socialism, the progress and free assertion of all nations.

Ceausescu Message on Students' International Day

AU1611231289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1825 GMT 16 Nov 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Message on the Students' International Day"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 16/11/1989—The message of salute addressed by the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary, president of Romania, to the participants in the Prague events sponsored by the International Union of Students, in marking 50 years since the proclamation of the day of November 17 as the Students' International Day, shows inter alia:

The completion of 50 years since the anti-fascist student manifestations is a fine opportunity to highlight the important contribution made by the young generation in the context of the peoples' general struggle to the triumph of the anti-Hitler coalition in the Second World War, to the determination to strengthen the collaboration among the young people and students in all countries, among their organizations in the struggle for the accomplishment of the peoples' legitimate aspirations after living in peace and freedom.

Pointing out that the celebration of the Students' International Day takes place at a time when the world situation keeps being very grave and complex, the Romanian head of state assesses that the struggle for peace and disarmament is the fundamental issue of our epoch, of all of mankind, hence also of the young generation. Romania considers that the young people, hence also the students in all countries, must take firmer action along with their peoples and say a resolute no to arming and war.

Now that we witness recrudescing fascist, revanchist and chauvinistic tendencies in a number of countries, the message shows, we think it is more necessary than ever to have all students, all young people rally their efforts so that in the spirit of their wonderful traditions of struggle they may make an ever more important contribution to defending peace, to the complete elimination of the possibility of a new war.

Every conclusion must be drawn from the time when the Second World War started, one should never forget the lessons of history, the fact that the policy of yielding to Nazi Germany encouraged it in fact to start the biggest and most terrible conflagration mankind has known. This asks for a firm stand of barring any manifestation of the revanchist, neo-Nazi forces.

Romania, President Nicolae Ceausescu shows, thinks that the young people must concert the forces and firmly work to ensure the fundamental rights of the young generations, the right to work, to education, to culture and health, to housing, the right to participate in a democratic manner in governing the society, with no discrimination of a social, national or racial nature to assert themselves free, in all domains of activity.

The message expresses the confidence that the students, their organizations will rally their forces even closer and more responsibly in order to contribute to disarmament, to the peaceful settlement of all disputed issues, to the eradication of underdevelopment, the settlement of all grave and complex issues facing mankind now.

The document stresses the necessity that the young generation should join the efforts in order to firmly work toward the assertion of a new way of approaching the world issues.

I wish to stress it, the message shows, that, benefiting from the Romanian society's care and preoccupation for the [word indistinct] and assertion of the young generation, Socialist Romania's youth actively participates along with the whole people in the translation into life of the country's socio-economic development programs, equally making an important contribution to the implementation of the state's international policy of peace and collaboration with all peoples of the world.

Policy of 'Disideologization' Attacked

AU1411193189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1528 GMT 14 Nov 89

["A New Policy and Thinking Through the Assertion of the Progressive, Socialist Ideology, Not Through the 'Disideologization' of International Relations—Excepted Article in SCINTEIA of 14 November"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 14/11/1989—At a time when the reactionary, imperialist quarters have launched a genuine ideological offensive against socialism, characterized by a strong recrudescence of the attempts at negating its viability attested by history and at undermining the countries engaged in the building of the new system, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], Nicolae Ceausescu firmly reject the theses taken over from the obsolete arsenal of the "cold war" and dressed in an apparently new clothing, through which these circles try to attain their destabilizing goals. Among these theses so often circulated of late is the so-called disideologization of international relations. We are witness to a resuscitation of the old and discredited theory of the convergence of opposed sociopolitical systems, the aim pursued being very clear: the negation of class struggle, the negation of contradictions, of the confrontation between old and new as a decisive factor of the progress of the human society on all planes, that of international life included.

Most resolutely combating this false as much as noxious thesis, the RCP general secretary's exposition of 24 October stresses that the class struggle between the two diametrically opposed sociopolitical systems is an objective reality of the present-day world, that, far from weakening or lessening, the fundamental contradiction between socialism and capitalism persists and even gets more marked.

In the light of this truth, Nicolae Ceausescu showed clearly that "the theses of disideologization of international relations and renunciation of class struggle are in full contradiction with the whole evolution of mankind so far, just as with the realities of the present-day world, with the development of the fight for socialism, progress and peace in the world".

In the attempt—doomed to failure—at accrediting the idea of renunciation of class struggle, of the fight for the revolutionary transformation of society, at imposing relations between socialism and capitalism that should exclude ideological confrontation, and lead to a "reconciliation" between the two systems, the promoters of the aforementioned theses resort, as an "argument" meant to mislead peoples, to a tendentious interpretation of the demand of ensuring peaceful coexistence. A demand that is indeed law-like, objective—the only alternative to coexistence in the atomic era being an exterminating, self-destructing war. Setting from this stringent requirement, the giving up of the class policy, the achievement of an ideological "reconciliation" would be, in the distorted outlook of the supporters of "disideologization", the sine-qua-non of mankind's survival, of avoiding war, a nuclear catastrophe, which for the socialist countries would mean renunciation of the materialist dialectical outlook on the world and life, and liquidation of the new system.

These theses pursue the demoralization of communists, of peoples in their fight for socialism and peace. To prevent war through such a capitulating attitude that should wipe out ideological confrontation from interstate relations, the groundless assessments about the so-called ensurance of detente and peace at the price of avoiding the irreducible opposition between the two systems, of liquidating socialism is equal to giving away to nuclear blackmail, is an approach alien to any revolutionary conception. To put the question this way, to agitate the spectrum of nuclear destruction to bring about renunciation of socialist ideology mean to misinterpret an elementary truth, to deliberately ignore the reality that an atomic war is inconceivable and inadmissible, the experience of so many peoples, the experience of the Romanian people who never relinquished to threat, to aggression, mean to overlook the lack of perspective of the give-away and concession policy. It is with justified reason that the exposition recalls the nefarious results of the concessive, conciliatory attitude towards Hitlerism which led to the outbreak of war, as the defeat of the fascist barbarism was possible only through the peoples' rise in fight and sacrifices for the cause of freedom.

The real threat to peace and detente, the real cause of the current serious world situation, turmoils and tensions do not lie in the ideological confrontation on an international plane but in the imperialist policies of force and dictate, of interference in the internal affairs of other countries, in the escalation of the arms race, the spoliation of the Third World peoples, the maintenance and accentuation of underdevelopment and poverty with which the majority of mankind is confronted.

In the conditions in which the two diametrically opposed systems continue to exist, all these problems can be solved only through the establishment of relations of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems, understood not as an elimination of ideological differences but as development of broad collaboration based on strict observance of the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, non- interference in internal affairs, the assertion of each people's inalienable right to self-reliantly choose its development path. The path to a new thinking and policy does not mean renunciation of advanced conceptions, of the progressive, socialist ideology, on the contrary it implies stronger assertion of such an ideology. And this is all the more imperative as the campaign of "disideologization" which unfortunately, as realities show, has found an echo among the socialist countries and communist parties is conceived by its promoters in a "single sense," if one may say so. It refers only to the socialist countries while the capitalist countries, far from giving up or changing their ideological outlooks on international relations, seek to impose them by any means and make them dominate the contemporary society, and resort to an intense and massive "ideologization" of these relations, considering that the time is favourable to regain their lost positions and even consolidate them to the detriment of the new system.

Through their behaviour the capitalist states prove undoubtedly that they are guided not only by ideological considerations, by class interests, proving how false and inconsistent the assertions of the advocates of "disideologization" are. Practically speaking, "disideologization" is nothing else but an unskillfully masked ideological support of the current campaign for a large-scale destabilization of socialist countries, an expression of the imperialism's attempts to bar social progress and the peoples' advance on the road of socialism, as the sole viable alternative of development.

As a matter of fact, it is not the ideological confrontation in the international arena or the promotion of the working class' revolutionary conceptions that place peace in jeopardy or undermine peaceful coexistence but the very recrudescence of the anticommunist and antisocialist policies, the attempts to stop the renewing transformation of human society, to deviate the countries that build the new system from the way on which they embarked and to revert to the capitalist rules, to change the balance of forces, the international equilibrium in general, with all the threats they can pose to the general cause of detente, security and the free and peaceful development of peoples.

In the RCP's opinion, it is not the disideologization of international relations but the firm assertion of the progressive, socialist ideology that leads to a new policy and thinking.

Cuban Foreign Minister Makes Visit

AU1411224489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 14/11/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, received on November 14 Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, who paid an official visit to Romania.

President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed on the occasion a warm message of salute and cordial wishes of good health and success in his entire activity, of prosperity for the friendly Romanian people from Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the Communist Party of Cuba, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba.

Thanking, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed to Fidel Castro Ruz his warm salute and best wishes and to the friendly Cuban people wishes of progress and welfare.

Evoked during the interview were the fine relations of collaboration between Romania and Cuba that developed continuously in recent years. Emphasized were also the possibilities at hand for the further expansion of the Romanian-Cuban collaboration in the political, economic, technological, scientific, cultural and other domains, to mutual benefit. The confidence was expressed that the still more powerful intensification of those relations in future, both on a bilateral plane and in international life, was to the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Current aspects of international life were also approached.

Assessing that the international situation continued to be grave, they stressed the necessity to intensify the efforts in the struggle for disarmament, nuclear above all, for a world free of wars and weapons, for a climate of detente, security, peace, understanding and broad collaboration among nations, for a constructive settlement, in the peoples' interests, of the major issues of the world today.

It was also highlighted that everything possible had to be done for a peaceful, negotiated settlement of all tensions and conflicts, for the cessation of any interference in other states' domestic affairs and the observance of the peoples' right to decide by themselves their development path. Emphasized was the importance of a global settlement of the underdevelopment issues, including the extremely big foreign debt of developing countries, of establishing a new world economic order that should ensure the progress of every country, of the lagging ones above all.

During the talk, President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the necessity of strengthening the collaboration and solidarity of the socialist countries of the progressive forces everywhere in the struggle against imperialism, against its actions and attempts to destabilize the situation in the socialist countries, to undermine the gains of socialism, to promote its policy of domination and oppression, of interference in domestic affairs and violation of the peoples' independence and sovereignty. At the same time, the confidence was expressed that the progressive forces, the socialist states, the peoples would be able to curb and eventually bar those anti-socialist tendencies and actions aimed against the peoples' independence, to ensure the triumph of the struggle for the development and consolidation of socialism, the progress and free assertion of all nations of the world.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, Romanian foreign minister.

Niel Ruiz Guerra, Bucharest ambassador of the Republic of Cuba, was present.

Talks With Stoian End

AU1411224889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 14 Nov 89

["Foreign Ministers of Romania and Cuba Conduct Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 14/11/1989—Over 12-15 November 1989, Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Cuba, paid an official visit to Romania.

During the talks between Ion Stoian, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, and Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, minister of foreign affairs of Cuba, an analysis was made of the current stage of the relations between Romania and Cuba and of the development prospects of the Romanian-Cuban cooperation in the future. Satisfaction was expressed at the growing course of these links, as well as the joint wish to work to intensify the bilateral political dialogue, to amplify and diversify the economic, technico-scientific, cultural cooperation and in other fields of the mutual interest, and specific ways and means were set to achieve this.

The two foreign ministers also made an extensive exchange of opinions on the major problems of the international political situation, stressing that efforts should be stepped up for disarmament, nuclear above all, the settlement by negotiations and national reconciliation of various conflict states and the promotion of new initiatives to eradicate underdevelopment, establish a new international economic order.

The two ministers underscored that of special importance would be the organization of an international conference on underdevelopment-related issues at the UN, to set proper measures including the use of part of the funds released following cuts in military spending to support the least developed countries.

The Cuban guest had also talks with Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, on problems of mutual interest.

During his stay in Romania, the Cuban guest saw round economic units, socio-cultural establishments and urban facilities in Bucharest.

Further on Talks

FL1411164889 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1524 GMT 14 Nov 89

[Text] Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca has said that Cuba and Romania have been called upon to work together to make the role of the UN Security Council more effective. Malmierca mentioned the importance our country places on the election of Cuba and Romania as permanent members of that organization for a 2-year-period, effective 1 January 1990.

After concluding talks today with his Romanian counterpart, Ioan Totu, the Cuban foreign minister told journalists that he feels that the exchanges between the two foreign ministries and governments should be more frequent during that 2-year period to fulfill the objectives and duties the UN Charter has assigned to the council. In this regard Malmierca said that Cuba and Romania would further coincide in their voting at the United Nations, and he viewed this as a positive step.

Talks End

FL1511192789 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Text] Upon the conclusion of bilateral talks in Bucharest, Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca and Romanian Foreign Minister Ion Stoian have reaffirmed their support for the struggle of the peoples to defend their independence.

With regard to Central America, they expressed the need to allow the peace process, which was given impetus by the five presidents of the region, to materialize free of pressures from the United States. Furthermore, they emphasized that the initial steps taken for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, are important to the world.

The ministers of Cuba and Romania also highlighted the need for a new international economic order.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 11-17 Nov

AU1911181989

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 11-17 November period (sources of each report given in parentheses):

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Kuwaiti journalists and gave an interview for the KUWAIT TIMES publication in Bucharest on 11 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1209 GMT 11 Nov 89) On 13 November, he received a Cuban journalist and gave interview to the Cuban news agency PRENSA LATINA. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1706 GMT 13 Nov 89) On 14 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu received a PRC journalist, gave an interview to RENMIN RIBAO (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1543 GMT 14 Nov 89), and received Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1844 GMT 14 Nov 89) On 15 November, Ceausescu received a DPRK journalist and gave an interview to NODONG SINMUN. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1620 GMT 15 Nov 89) On 16 November, he received a Nigerian journalist and gave interview to the Nigerian weekly TIMES INTERNATIONAL. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 16 Nov 89) On 17 November, Nicolae Ceausescu received the outgoing Venezuelan ambassador Demetrio Boersner. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 17 Nov 89)

Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the government, attended a PLO Embassy reception on the first anniversary of the proclamation of the State of Palestine. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 18 Nov 89)

Ion Stoian, minister of foreign affairs, received Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli, in Bucharest on 14 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 14 Nov 89)

Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, conducted talks with Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca Peoli in Bucharest over 12-14 November. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1855 GMT 14 Nov 89)

Yugoslavs Prevented From Entering Romania

LD2011170589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—As of this morning, Romania is a completely closed country. All tourists from Yugoslavia who enter the neighboring country every day have been turned back at the border crossing points without explanation. Yugoslav firms, which have representative offices in the Romanian capital, have received, via their representatives, information from their Romanian partners that Yugoslav businessmen should not set out for Romania during the 14th party congress because "they will not be able to enter the country." Companies throughout Yugoslavia which have direct dealings with firms in Romania have received instructions to all [words indistinct] Romanian soil during the Romanian congress.

According to the testimonies of citizens returning from Romania, the approaches to all the larger cities in Romania, including [word indistinct] are blocked by strong police and (?military forces) who are checking travelers [passage indistinct] attempts to leave Romania with 10 years imprisonment, instead of [word indistinct] months as before.

Traffic to Romania 'Normal'

LD2011221489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2109 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Vrsac, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Rumors circulating this morning around Vrsac, and probably around other towns, that the border with Romania is closed and that our neighbors have been returning all our passengers, are untrue. The traffic with the neighboring country is normal. We heard this from the commander of the border police in Vrsac, Miroslav Lazarevic, who is in charge of the road border crossings Vatin and Kaludjerevo, as well as the rail crossing in Vrsac. According to Lazarevic, our offices are not aware of anyone being returned by Romanians, since no one has lodged a relevant complaint to our border offices.

LCY Send Greetings to Romanian Party Congress

LD2111112589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0754 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Report on telegram from the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium to the participants in the 14th congress of the Romanian Communist Party—date and place not given]

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Nov (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium has sent to the participants in the 14th congress of the Romanian Communist Party a telegram with cordial greetings and best wishes for successful work.

The telegram says: Your Congress is being held at an exceptionally significant juncture in international relations, when the international community as a whole is facing a choice of roads of its own future development. The modern world is confronted with the problem of rapid changes and innovations, in keeping with the demands of the scientific-technical revolution and the development of production forces, but at the same time with the need to overcome accumulated global problems, such as the arms race, the ever deeper gulf between the developed countries and the developing countries, the debt crisis, the threat to the environment and other things threatening the very survival of mankind. The modern world cannot confront successfully the great challenges which the new era is bringing with it unless in it lasting peace, equal security for all nations and states, equality, the right to development and the healthy nature of the environment and the right to democracy as a universal principle both of the internal organization of every individual country and also of international relations as a whole, are guaranteed. In a word, the interdependence of the modern world has reached such a level that all the achievements of civilization in the field of material production and the spiritual superstructure should be accessible to all peoples and countries.

This unavoidable process of the construction of a new picture of the world as an authentic human community requires that modern socialism too achieve profound and significant changes in its social being so that it might not only make a contribution to this process but also be one of its driving forces. In our assessment, the present-day reform processes in individual socialist countries are aimed precisely at this goal, regardless of the problems cropping up along this road and of the nature of the differences in the unfurling of these processes in individual countries.

Starting from this knowledge and from the conviction that this is a matter of objectively conditioned social changes, the LCY has opted in a united way for the implementation of profound economic and political reforms in our country and for the development of an economically efficient and politically more effective socialist society. The LCY itself must adapt itself to these demands and carry out radical transformations in the way it realises its social role in the conditions of the pluralism of interests and the further democratization of society. This will also be the basic topic to be discussed at the forthcoming 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LC, for which broad-based democratic preparations are being carried out.

It is our conviction that such processes will generate the conditions for the even more fruitful cooperation between our parties and countries, on the principles of good-neighborly relations, equality, noninterference, and mutual benefit. The existing level of Yugoslav-Romanian relations offers broad scope for the future development of mutual cooperation. An important role in this is had by the parts of the peoples of Yugoslavia who, as a national minority, live in Romania and the Romanian nationality in Yugoslavia. Hence the need for constant concern on both sides for their social position and affirmation, something which represents also a particular contribution to overall mutual cooperation and it is strengthening.

Macedonian Leader Receives USSR Ambassador

LD1811102889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Skopje 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Today in Skopje, Jakov Lazaroski, president of the Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, received Soviet Ambassador to Yugoslavia Vadim Loginov, who is on a visit to the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

In separate visits today, the Soviet ambassador received President of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia Dr Vulnet Starova; Member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia Dragoljov Stavrev; Chairman of the Republic Chamber of Economy Vanco Zdravev; and President of the City Assembly Jugoslav Todorovski.

In the talks mutual satisfaction was expressed with the successful development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations and within this framework with the results of the cooperation between Macedonia and the USSR and the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan.

Serbian Assembly Critical of Possible Israeli Tie

LD2011215289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 20 (TANJUG)—After Yugoslavia's largest republic, Serbia, received criticism from the federal administration and other republics over its desire for the speedy establishment of closer relations with the state of Israel, the Serbian Assembly today also addressed criticism at its government on the same issue.

The republican commission in charge of international policy and foreign relations accused the Serbian Government today of treating the republican parliament over the past four years as [word indistinct] verificatory body.

The commision supported its stand by the fact that the Serbian Government has not consulted the body in its assembly responsible for foreign policy.

One of the controversial political issues of the week was whether the recent visit by the Serbian republican secretary for foreign relations to Tel Aviv had or had not been made in an official capacity, as a representative of Yugoslavia, especially because there was mention during it of the possibility of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Israel. The Serbian Assembly's commission in charge of foreign relations said that it had learned of the visit "from the press."

Following the visit, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat disassociated itself from such a possibility at this moment, although Yugoslavia is not totally dismissing the setting up of diplomatic ties, although such a step would be made at a reasonable time in the foreseeable future.

Assembly's Federal Chamber Holds Session

Delegates' Questions Answered

LD1611134189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1029 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Nov (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] Different forms of nationalism, naturally, with different degrees of escalation and manners of manifestation, are present on the entire territory of our country. Almost daily, in different parts of Yugoslavia theses are expressed, more or less publicly, providing insights on national homogenization or exclusiveness, together with attempts to revise historical events, in particular those from the period of the revolution and the creation of the self-managing socialist Yugoslavia. Within the framework of such an activity, the FEC [Federal Executive Council] reply to Sulejman Redzepagic's question about escalation of nationalism cites, nationalists have been more frequently and increasingly more linking among themselves and with enemy emigration. The most drastic form of nationalistic activities is occuring in a continuous form in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

In the first ½ of this year, the reply states, the internal affairs bodies brought 858 criminal charges and 3481 charges for criminal acts and acts with nationalistic background.

Of that number, five criminal and 182 charges for minor offenses were recorded in Bosnia-Hercegovina; 16 criminal and 45 charges for minor offenses in Montenegro; 49 criminal and 257 charges for minor offenses in Croatia; three criminal and 165 charges for minor offenses in Slovenia; 147 criminal and 134 charges for minor offenses in Serbia proper; 614 criminal and 2,284 charges for minor offenses in Kosovo; and two criminal and 43 charges for minor offenses in Vojvodina. Of that number, the FEC reply states, 71.5 percent of criminal charges and 65.6 charges for minor offenses were brought in Kosovo.

Taking all this into account, the federal government holds that, for an efficient prevention of nationalistic activity, it is necessary to build a higher degree of unity in reviewing the assessments and causes at the level of the overall Yugoslav community. Only in that way is it possible to find solutions appropriate for the elimination of social causes of nationalism, and not just solutions working on elimination of manifestations of nationalism. [passage omitted]

It is said, in the reply to a question asked by Janez Lukac in response to a statement by academician Ljubisa Rakic alleging that the official bodies of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs and Slovene and Croat members of our missions abroad have been involved in the propaganda war against Serbia, that the statement took the Federal Foreign Affairs Secretariat by surprise. The secretariat strictly adheres to and continues to fulfill its constitutional duty of implementing declared Yugoslav foreign policy. This has always been the secretariat's orientation.

This orientation also implies a strict observance of the constitutional provision under which the organs and officials of the federation, including the secretariat's personnel, are not allowed to take instructions from sociopolitical communities.

The secretariat has been investing constant efforts to ensure that the divisions and differences in the country do not affect foreign policy departments thus preventing them from acting for the benefit of Yugoslavia's common interests. [passage omitted]

We would be deeply disappointed if the European Parliament, or anyone else, is to take on the role of court and assume stands even before the court has established facts or completed the legal procedure, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs states in reply to a question put by delegate Dragan Malovic and referring to the possibility of the European Parliament passing a resolution on the trial of Azem Vlasi.

The Parliament, together with others, usually invokes human rights and the CSCE documents. However, it overlooks the fact that these documents emphasize more than anything else each state's right to sovereignty which implies respect for its constitutional system in which, as far as we are concerned, the independence and autonomy of the courts occupy the key position. Premature political assessments of the court's work can therefore be interepreted as nothing else but an attempt at political pressure. [passage omitted]

Yugoslavia, as Sultanovic put it, has serious reasons to keep a political distance from the Israeli Government. Such an attitude means that there should be no contacts between official Yugoslav representatives and representatives of the Israeli Goverment. All other contacts, including those with some parties in Israel, are within a domain of an established practice, he added.

Reading newspaper reports about increased opportnities for economic and tourist exchange with Israeli economy and citizens, we can only say that this is in accordance with FEC intentions, as well as stances adopted previously in the SFRY Assembly, the representative of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs stressed.

I should say that newspaper reports about meetings which occurred these days in Israel, besides other Israeli officials, mention General Sharon, a minister in the Israeli Government. Gen Sharon is known to the international public as a person who led the well-known massacre of women and children in Palestinian camps. We would prefer that it emerges that some other Sharon was involved, Vladimir Sultanovic, representatives of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said. [passage omitted]

Further on Proceedings

LD1611160789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1154 GMT 15 Nov 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 November (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today instructed the Federal Executive Council to draft by 1 February next year the proposals concerning the directions of SFRY activity to ensure the rights of sections of the Yugoslav nations living in neighboring countries. The chamber confirmed that demand after a discussion during which greater persistence and specific activities concerning the protection of our minorities in neighboring countries were asked for.

The delegates believe that Yugoslavia—and this was a point made during the discussion—has a moral right to ask her neighbors, and if necessary do so through international institutions, to display greater respect and acknowledge the rights and freedoms of members of parts of our nations living in these countries. This question is topical because of the actual situation in which these people live, that thee very existence of some is not admitted, and also because at the very time of the increasing opening of the borders in Europe, some of our borders are still virtually closed.

The discussion, which went on for almost 3 hours, was preceded by an introductory report by Milivoj Maksic, deputy federal secretary of foreign affairs. [TANJUG takes 2-4 not received]

Hisen Ramadani spoke in favor of persistence, differentiated approach, and a subtle analysis of the position of our ethnic minorities, pointing out at the same time in some cases national rights of our minorities are under threat, while in others these rights are formally recognized but general human rights and freedoms are undermined.

He believes that the failure to recognize the existence of the Macedonian minority by Bulgaria and Greece is actually a failure to recognize the Macedonian nation, as well as a failure to recognize Yugoslavia. I understand that democratic processes in Europe and the Balkans would create more opportunities for exercising influence in this area, and believe that our persistence should not wane at any moment.

The general situation of relations with individual neighboring countries is also exacerbated by increasingly frequent arguments and conflicts in the internal area, Mojse Kostic said. He believes that only a united stand can prevent efforts by individual neighbors to bypass or separate a republic or province of ours in the development of relations with Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Klime Popovski said that with the opening of borders between East and West European countries and the fall of the Berlin wall, borders between Yugoslavia and its eastern and southern neighbors "carry the primacy of the most closed borders in Europe".

He in particular pointed out the unacceptable treatment of Macedonians in three countries with which Macedonia borders and thereby suffers political and economic damage, and very often its dignity is undermined and insulted. [passage omitted]

Dragan Malovic said that our policy and practice of good neighborly relations was not met with an appropriate response from some neighboring countries, and mentioned territorial pretensions toward Yugoslavia, while attempts of crude interference in our internal affairs are also in evidence. Most controversial is the position and rights of our ethnic minorities, in particular in Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Romania. At the same time Yugoslvia, he assessed "because of peace around the house", often slackened its obligations towards parts of our nations in neighboring countries.

Malovic pointed out that it was particularly inadmissible that Albania had decided not to give up direct and open interference in Yugoslav internal afairs. Expressly hostile and aggressive activity towards Yugoslavia on the international stage, according to him, presents a symmetrical rekindling of open hatred in Albania towards our country, in particular toward the Serbian nation. Malovic spoke in favor of unmasking Albania on the international stage, that is, its policy of dual standards—verbal pronouncements in favor of good-neighborly relations and a completely different activity in practice. [passage omitted]

Today the Federal Chamber distributed the money from the federal budget, rebalanced for the second time this year. The appetites of users were considerably bigger than the amount of money available, but on average, in relation to the first rebalance, they were increased by around 100 percent. The rebalanced federal budget, which has recently been endorsed as a temporary measure as no agreement has been reached between federal units, totaled 122.8 trillion dinars.

The Army, as the biggest user of the budget, got 61 trillion dinars, considerably less than envisaged by legal regulations. [passage omitted]

A total of 7 trillion dinars from the budget was earmarked for underdeveloped regions, out of which 2.5 billion dinars was for financing newly-formed municipalities in Kosovo, 12 billion for building flats for cadres and those returning to this province, and 27 billion dinars for financing exceptional needs of the Kosovo Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

A total of 11.9 trillion dinars from the budget will be earmarked for the protection of disabled and veterans, beneficial pensions of veterans, military pensions and disability protection.

The total expense of the federal administration for this year will amount to 9.2 trillion dinars. This also includes expenses for the recently held nonaligned conference (280 billion dinars), financing of sociopolitical organizations, money for technological modernization of the federation, while the funds for the work of federal organs total 7.6 trillion dinars.

A total of 33 trillion dinars from the rebalanced budget was earmarked for interventions in the economy. This included money for reimbursement for artificial fertilizers, foreign exchange differences for foreign commodity credits and others.

The only disputable issue about endorsing the rebalanced budget included funds envisaged for holding 14th extraordinary LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] congress.

The FEC [Federal Executive Council] insisted that 4.5 billion dinars from this rebalance should be earmarked for the organization of the congress. If this amount is not deposited on the account of the LCY Central Committee, as Svetozar Zecar, deputy federal secretary for Judiciary and Administration, said, the holding of the congress would be under threat. In the budget for the next year no money will be envisaged for such purpose, Zecar was trying to persuade delegates.

The Committee for the Federal Budget, however, prepared an amendment on the government proposal, suggesting that 4.5 billion dinars should be used to modernize services of the SFRY Assembly instead of for congress—in concrete terms, to improve a public address system in halls and buy technology for automatic voting. [passage omitted]

Following almost 2 hours of debate on the proposed declaration which makes an appeal for an end to interethnic conflicts and unprincipled republican-provincial friction, the delegates decided to defer its adoption until the next session.

In the meantime, the Committee for Sociopolitical Relations will draw up a new draft declaration on the basis of today's discussion. The delegates consider that this document should not be "An ordinary piece of paper", but rather that it should express the principled stand of the Federal Assembly which will be in the interests of a final end to accusations between republics and provinces.

The first participant in the debate, Momcilo Saletic, while supporting the draft declaration as a whole, pointed out the danger of extinguishing the Yugoslav spirit. The national option is being offered instead of the Yugoslav one, and, in his view, not a single milieu has been resistant to this. The difference is only in its intensity. Saletic considers that political intolerance is the cause of interethnic conflicts. This psychosis has got a grip on almost all social structures in all environments. It is hard to determine who contributes more to this—

the free thinkers or the advocates of the conservative stream, members of the party or its opponents, believers or atheists, Saletic stressed.

The inevitable consequences of interethnic arguments are lack of freedom and lack of democracy. Instead of this kind of return to the past, we need what will take us into the future, Saletic stressed.

Marjan Rozic did not dispute the need to adopt a document, but he pointed out that its content should serve a purpose. A routinely written paper will have no effect. In his view, the proposed declaration should be expanded with the new proposals by the delegates.

Rozic considers that the assembly should voice a clearer and more pluralistic approach to the realization of national equality. The key issue for the stablization of interethnic relations is, in his view, consistently pursuing the path of reform. Any deviation from the three reforms only serves to encourage interethnic conflicts.

According to Rozic, a realistic assessment of the situation in the country is also an essential condition for the stabilization of relations. Differences between environments objectively exist in the development of the national question and relations as well. However, they need not have negative connotations; rather they should contribute to successfully overcoming the problems. We need to believe the fact and to conduct a polite dialogue without the politicization of differing views. Interethnic relations can be more successfully built in democratic relations, and not under means of repression, Rozic stressed. [passage omitted]

Stressing that this document, if the assembly endorses it, will be subjected to microscopic analysis by both the domestic and foreign public, Radivoj Tepsic pointed out some of its shortcomings. [passage omitted]

Tepsic came out against the stand in the declaration which says that the unfavorable interethnic relations are increasingly fueled by the increased activity of the religious communities in the country. The document should not contain such a statement, he stressed, since there are numerous examples of leading church dignatories of all confessions appealing in their work for the reduction of interethnic friction, and in this way working far more effectively than many Yugoslav politicians. [passage omitted]

This evening the chamber also endorsed a law on the election and recall of delegates in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. Already for the next 4-year mandate, delegates will be elected directly by secret vote, and there will be more candidates than the number of those to be elected.

Proposing, putting forward candidates, the election, and recall of delegates will be carried out in their electoral units. The basic regulations for the formation of electoral units will be the number of citizens in a municipality—that is, the electoral unit—and the number of employed in self-managing organizations and communities in the municipality—that is the electoral unit.

An electoral commission will send a list of all candidates to a candidates' conference, which draws up a final proposal list of candidacies for delegates. Which delegates remain on the list would be decided by the conference by a secret vote and on the basis of regulations and criteria established by the Socialist Alliance of Working People. In order to remain on the list, a candidate should get a majority vote from the candidates' conference. Voting is repeated if the list does not contain more candidates than the number of delegates to be elected in this electoral unit.

The candidates' conference numbers between 50 and 150 delegates elected by a secret vote in their electoral unit. At least three quarters of the conference delegates is taken from self-managing organizations and communities, and the rest are delegates from socio-political organizations within the framework of the Socialist Alliance of Working People.

Candidates for delegates may also be proposed by groups of at least 150 citizens.

In the future, the Federal Chamber will have 200 delegates, 30 from each republic and 20 from each province. The condition is that more than half of the delegates from each republic and province should come from associated labor.

The Federal Chamber today adopted the law on the personal incomes of officials elected or those appointed by the SFRY Assembly, and on supplements to personal incomes of delegates in the Federal Assembly. A level of incomes under this law will depend on a coefficient ranging from 4 to 8 percent, multiplied by the average personal income in the economy for the last month. In other words, a coefficient up to 8 will be applied to top state officials—President, vice-president, and members of the SFRY presidency, assembly president, and FEC president.

With the adoption of this law, the SFRY Assembly ceases to take part in a social agreement which previously regulated the problem. However, many objections were raised against the proposed law, and even demands for it to be postponed were heard. However, it was adopted by a majority of votes by the delegates.

Prior to adopting the law on election and revocation of delegates, Anita Bara, representative of the Yugoslav Socialist Youth Federation, recalled that the youth organization proposed some 70 amendments to that regulation. The youth organization will, at the Yugoslav Federal Court, set in motion the procedure for establishing constituality in regard to a short period between the proposal and the adoption. [sentence as received] According to the young people, the constitutional amendments prevent democratic elections, Bara stressed. We shall follow these issues and assess what possibilities there are for electoral democracy. On this basis, we will assess whether a boycott of elections in the next year is needed, Anita Bara said.

The Federal Chamber this evening adopted a report of the Federal Court on criminality and corruption in the last year, which Stojan Djuranovic, president of the Federal Court, spoke on.

In the past 10 years there were no major changes in the number of those convicted for corruption. These acts are difficult to uncover, and court trials last longer than a year. Corruption as a phenomenon is more widespread than one would judge on the basis of the registered charges. Bribery and corruption are present in all social strata, and in crisis the number of these criminal acts increases. Djuranovic also spoke about the need to have independent courts, which must be autonomous in their work.

A decision on whether the Federal Chamber will have its representative in a public debate in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia on the harmonization of republican and provincial constitutions with the federal one, was postponed until the next session of the Chamber.

In accordance with the rule of procedure, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia instructed the Federal Chamber to nominate its representative for this debate which will start in the first days of the next month. At yesterday's session of the chairpersons of working bodies it was proposed that the representatives should be delegates Mijat Sukovic and Mojse Kostic. [passage omitted]

In this muddle of stands and ideas, the only logical proposal was that the decision should be postponed until the next session. The "feeling" was that there was no quorum. In this case the session should have been broken off. This was not favored by many delegates as they would have to hold a session tomorrow. "The Solomonic" solution was found. Before the final decision is reached the constitutional court will be consulted on this.

At the beginning of the session today the Federal Chamber paid tribute to recently deceased delegate Radonja Bojovic.

The Chamber verified the mandate of Dr Anica Selec and Zeljko Fekete, elected delegates in the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of Yugoslavia at additional elections in Croatia.

Presidency Comments on Interethnic Ties

LD1711190989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—In accordance with its constitutional responsibility for the situation in the country, on 8 November 1989, the SFRY Presidency, with the participation of the presidents of the presidencies of the republics and autonomous provinces and certain officials in the federation, discussed the situation and problems of interethnic relations and activity from nationalistic positions as a source of threats to the order established by the SFRY Constitution. Starting from the information provided by the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, assessments, stands and proposals of the Federal Council for the protection of the constitutional order and assessments presented in the debate, the SFRY Presidency endorsed the following stands and conclusions:

1. It is necessary to resolutely halt a further exacerbation of interethnic and interrepublican relations. At the same time it is necessary to create such a social climate which would contribute to a constructive dialogue, elimination of distrust and intolerance in interethnic and interrepublican relations—that is, ensure conditions to achieve agreement on questions of essential significance for the functioning and a further development of Yugoslav community.

In accordance with this, in the federation and in the republics and autonomous provinces it is necessary to resolutely break off the practice whereby almost every attempt to harmonize interests is unnecessarily and in an unprincipled way politicized and turned into conflicts between the leaderships, which block any constructive action and efforts to deal with problems and seek a way out of the crisis.

2. It is in everybody's interest that the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo should be improved and normalized as soon as possible. This has, however, become one of the basic sources of disorder in interethnic relations in the country because of differences in assessments of the situation, current problems and denials of actions on the realization of the established policy.

The SFRY Presidency will discuss the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo in a comprehensive manner, assess the realization of the established policy and establish stands and measures for further activity.

State organs, in accordance with the Constitution and law, are duty-bound to efficiently oppose activities from the positions of greater Albanian separatism and chauvinism, which in Kosovo also manifest itself through forms of terrorism.

3. The SFRY Presidency believes that the existing differences in assessment of the causes of the present unfavorable situation in interethnic and inter-republican relations and the situation whereby time and energy are wasted on proving individual causes from ancient and recent history, can and must be overcome by directing action towards most significant questions of the economic and political stabilization. This would also create conditions for a more efficient realization of the economic and political reforms, primarily for curbing inflation and speeding up the procedure of adopting the new SFRY Constitution, the remaining systemic laws and other measures which would be used to develop a new economic system and ensure that the economic and political crisis is overcome.

4. The leaderships and their members in the federation, the republics and the autonomous provinces should refrain in their public activities from attacking and defaming each other. In the course of working out solutions, the exchange of opinions and arguments on certain open issues before their presentation in public should be practiced more often than we have done until now.

It is of special significance that the republican and provincial leaderships carry out direct meetings and talks on all disputable issues as soon as possible and embark with mutual respect on removing mutual misunderstanding and confrontations.

5. It is necessary to stop "the media war" that has recently assumed such proportions that it has a direct influence upon the deterioration in interethnic and inter-republican relations. To this effect the responsibility of all those who abuse, or make possible abuses of, freedom of expression, thus exacerbating and spreading national mistrust and hatred, should be raised to the highest degree.

Editorial policies must not only prevent these occurrences but also ensure a constructive contribution of the media to the improvement in interethnic and intrarepublican relations. The Federal Executive Council should, in the framework of its competence, assess as soon as possible the state of the legal provisions in this sphere and the need for changes to them by taking into account international experiences, too.

6. When resolving the issues of special importance for interethnic and intrarepublic relations, the opinions of the scientific and expert public should be consulted to a higher degree in order to prevent them from being talked about primarily and exclusively in the interest of daily politicking. To this effect it is necessary to embark, in agreement between the organs of the federation and the corresponding organs in the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces, in a braver way on the organized scientific examination of certain problems and occurrences in this sphere.

7. The SFRY Presidency and the presidencies of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces and other competent state organs, must, in the framework of their competent authority, take measures to unify criteria in the application of the law and other regulations against the exponents of nationalist activity and regularly provide guidelines for the work of the organs in the security service in uncovering and crushing activities aimed at undermining and destroying the order as laid down in the SFRY Constitution.

8. The presidencies of the socialist republics and the socialist autonomous provinces should hold sessions as soon as possible at which they will examine and assess in a more concrete way the state of, and problems in, interethnic and inter-republican relations, especially the causes of enhanced nationalistic activity, and establish their tasks. Starting from the need to examine the situation in this area in a complete way and together, members of the SFRY Presidency will also take part in the work of these sessions.

9. For the purpose of making a concrete contribution to an examination of, and the more effective solution to, the problems in interethnic and inter-republic relations and other current questions, the SFRY Presidency will continue the practice of the more frequent holding of sesions with the presidents of the presidencies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and the departure of members of the SFRY Presidency on working visits to the republics and autonomous provinces.

10. The SFRY Presidency will, in keeping with its constitutional authority, inform the SFRY Assembly of the state of, and problems in, internal policy, and in the framework of this, especially of the state of interethnic and inter-republican relations in the country and measures and activities to improve the situation in this area.

Former Deputy Secretary Lovric Expelled From LC

LD2111001589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2101 GMT 20 NOV 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—This evening's session of the committee of the basic League of Communists [LC] organization in the Federal bodies and organs, expelled the former deputy federal secretary for labor, health, veteran's issues and social policy in the last government, Ivan Lovric, from the LC. Members of the committee voted for the measure on the basis of a report of a working group of the committee, which established that Lovric breached the current laws by taking out loans for building a weekend cottage in Neum. [passage omitted]

Milosevic Landslide in Serbian Presidency Election

LD2011213989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1751 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 20 (TANJUG)—Slobodan Milosevic scored a landslide victory in a four-man election race last Sunday for Serbian president over the next four years. At the referendum in Serbia he got 4,452,312 votes or 80 percent of the vote.

In Serbia without the provinces 3,337,973 people or 94 percent of the electorate opted for Milosevic, and in its two provinces: Vojvodina 941,385 or 72.18 percent and Kosovo 172,954 or 25.22 percent.

The election results for the other three candidates are: Mihalj Kertes 480,924 votes, Zoram Pjanic 404,853 votes and Miroslav Djordjevic 330,632 votes.

The delegates of the republican Socialist Alliance conference will on November 23 propose to the Serbian Assembly to adopt a decision proclaiming Slobodan Milosevic as Serbian Presidency president.

Socialist Alliance Presidency Secretary Dejan Milovanovic said that for the first time in years the elections were organized on the entire Serbian territory.

The electorate's choice of Milosevic, Milovanovic said, is a sign of support for the achieved political results.

Serbian Assembly Questions Radiation Levels

AU1711114889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Who Is Bothered by the Truth?"]

[Excerpt] At the recent session of the Serbian Assembly held on 26 October, Jelka Miljkovic, delegate in the Associated Labor Chamber, presented the most horrifying details about radiation, citing a report on the results of radiometric tests of the biosphere—concerned with water, vegetation, and soil—carried out this August in the region of eastern Serbia and Belgrade. The report was compiled, as stated, as a result of a verbal order by the republican Committee for Urban Planning, Communal Affairs, and the Human Environment.

According to this report, the level of contamination in Belgrade from 16 August to 25 August was exceptionally high and on 21 August radiation was registered in Belgrade which was 270 times greater than the normal radiation, that is to say 27,000 percent. It also rained in Belgrade on that day, and it is well known that rainfall makes contaminated radioactive particles in the air fall to the ground.

According to the cited report, contamination continued to rise after 25 August, but tests were prohibited and stopped. By law, it is compulsory for the authorized institution to advise the sanitary inspection service when increased radiation is detected. The question is whether that was done on this occasion, said Jelka Miljkovic. According to her, the report was presented to the republican Committee for Urban Planning, Communal Affairs, and the Human Environment, and to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, on 25 August.

The results of the analysis show that the contamination was caused by the work of a certain type of nuclear reactor—a so-called breeder reactor—which exists only in Germany and France. It can be seen from the report that there is old and new pollution, which means pollution from before Chernobyl. For example, the fissile material [fisonia smesa] in Kladovo is old, and that in Belgrade is new. Therefore, this is a question, said Jelka Miljkovic, of radioactive waste which is illegally imported with ore from the Western countries which possess this type of nuclear reactor.

At the session, Jelka Miljkovic voiced the suspicion that the radioactive waste and cargo had been left on the territory of Yugoslavia when the boat, the Petersburg, sailed down the Danube. The boat was given permission to go down the Danube by the republican Committee for Health and Welfare Policy and the federal secretariat of the same name. Mentioning that this contamination has probably already lasted for 15 years and at least certainly for the last 11 years, and considering that in the last half of August a small-scale Chernobyl took place over Kladovo and Belgrade, she asked several questions. First, what steps did the republican Committee for Urban Planning, Communal Affairs, and the Human Environment take concerning the report?

Then Miljkovic asked: Who approved the import of ore with which the radioactive waste was probably smuggled into the country; which of our harbors does this iron enter; and where is it transferred? Then: Was the assembly commission for environment protection advised of these findings? Why were further measuring and gathering of data stopped? For how long will the data in these analyses remain strictly confidential? Who is protecting whom and from whom? If we are talking about imported iron and radioactive waste, then we are not talking about ignorance and negligence, but about criminal machinations. The 15-year silence and lack of reaction points to the perfidious type of genocide of the people who live in this region. Is it because we are poor and is it because we are in a deep economic crisis that we must be sick and we must be destroyed, asked Jelka Miljkovic. [passage omitted]

Belgrade TU Asks for Government Confidence Vote

LD2011214189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Belgrade, November 20 (TANJUG)—The Trade Union of Belgrade today asked Yugoslav parliament to take a vote of confidence to the federal government at its very first session.

The demand was motivated by an assessment by the Belgrade Trade Union organization that the cabinet of Premier Ante Markovic has done nothing so far to meet the demands of Belgrade workers, formulating in September. Belgrade workers asked for the urgent decrease of the now already 1,500-percent annual rate of inflation and a disburdening of the economy.

Markovic has so far rejected all demands (especially those from the eastern, undeveloped parts of the country) to implement urgent anti-inflation measures (including the freezing of prices and wages). Markovic is adamant in his stand that his entire economic program, which should introduce Yugoslavia to the circle of countries with market economies, is actually anti-inflationary in the long run.

MLADINA Has 'Overdone Fascist Propaganda'

AU2111122789 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 89 p 8

[M. Laketic report: "New Abominations of the Slovene Paper"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Nov—The latest issue of MLADINA has continued to fabricate serious insults to the Serbian people and to Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

A "death announcement" and a call for the assassination of President Slobodan Milosevic in its previous issue were not enough for MLADINA, so in today's issue MLADINA pronounces a "death sentence" embellished with abominations that are really not fit to print.

Such articles of MLADINA's have far outdone Hitler's fascist propaganda. When speaking about Slovenia as an allegedly law-governed state, one must say that not one of its sociopolitical organs reacted to these texts. On the contrary, NEDELJSKI DNEVNIK has published an interview with MLADINA editor Robert Botteri in which it is said that MLADINA "has just written what has been circulating through the public media in Slovenia for 3 months already."

Slovene Presidency Rejects Ljubljana Serb Rally

AU1711214989 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1800 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Text] At its session today, the Presidency of Slovenia discussed the premises for the participation of Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency, at the session of the SFRY Presidency on 21 November which will discuss the problems in Kosovo.

The Presidency of Slovenia also formed its stance on the announcement by the Committee for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo that a rally will be organized in Ljubljana on 1 December. The Slovene Presidency considers such a meeting to be unnecessary and harmful, and that it would constitute a serious threat to public peace and order, alarm the public, and foster interethnic strife.

The Presidency of Slovenia adopted such a resolute rejection of the announced meeting on the basis of its own appraisal of the situation and it also took into consideration the stances of the SFRY Presidency which in October last year took a resolute stand against such meetings.

Convinced that the announced meeting in Ljubljana is unacceptable and all the opportunities for a different, tolerant, and democratic discussion are available in our republic, the Presidency thus confirmed the publicly expressed opinions of citizens and of the sociopolitical organizations in our republic.

Further Reportage on Controversial Vlasi Case

Slovene Institutions Support Vlasi

LD2111032189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0121 GMT 21 Nov 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 20 (TANJUG)—Two influential institutions in Yugoslavia's northwestern Republic of Slovenia tonight voiced support for former President of the Kosovo Communist party Azem Vlasi who is standing trial on charges of counter-revolutionary endangering of the social order of the country.

The Socialist Youth Union of Slovenia, which aspires to win Slovenia's first post-war free parliamentary elections in March, presented here this evening a book entitled for (the defence of) Azem Vlasi. The book is a compilation of articles by Vlasi's journalist wife, who writes for the main Croatian daily VJESNIK, published in Zagreb.

The author of the afterword, high-ranking Slovene and Yugoslav party official for many years Franc Setinc, said at the gathering at which the book was presented that he believed Vlasi and was convinced that Vlasi was in no way connected with what he has been accused of.

The Slovenian writers society, also, has warned all republican organs of a mock-trial against Vlasi.

The expressions of support from Slovenia and, partially, from Croatia, have provoked a fierce reaction in other parts of Yugoslavia and have been seen as pressure being brought to bear on the judicial organs.

Seen As 'Support to Separatists'

AU2011094589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Oct 89 p 6

[Z. Z. report: "Support to Separatist Forces"]

[Text] Pristina, 29 Oct—The demands for abrogating the criminal prosecution and the release of Azem Vlasi and the others accused of menacing the SFRY in a counterrevolutionary manner represent nothing but support to Albanian nationalists and separatists. There is no doubt that such demands have a deeper background and that they represent support to those forces that advocated the failed nationalist-separatist policy carried out by the former provincial political leadership and former leaders, many of whom are now in prison.

It is not, however, surprising that such demands come from certain prominent leaders from Slovenia and Croatia, because such support from these republics has not been lacking in the last 10 years or so during the fierce battle against counterrevolutionary forces in Kosovo. It is also not surprising that this support is now publicly expressed, because the basis of this support, which is to say the demand for the abrogation of the criminal charges against Azem Vlasi, reflects above all the fear of what the trial could bring about and what could be revealed about the role of certain individuals.

The demands for the abrogation of the criminal prosecution in fact comes from those who vociferously strive for democracy and a law-governed state. However, with their demands they quash what they are striving for when their personal interests start to be affected, which is what the demands expressed by Suvar, Muzevic, and others appear to show.

Even before the opening of the Azem Vlasi trial, Janez Kocijancic, together with Muhamed Abadzic, who is also a member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, demanded that the now first accused Azem Vlasi be employed as a manager in Adria Airways. This was done at the time when Vlasi lost all his political positions and when he, together with others, embarked on the dangerous game with Albanian nationalists and separatists. The fact the Azem Vlasi was offered a job in a Slovene firm is not particularly surprising, because this firm has provided a home for some other former Kosovo leaders, above all to Mustafa Pljakic who has been proclaimed as one of the main culprits for the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

Kosovo Provincial Committee Session Held

LD1811002289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1532 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—At a session held today, the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee noted that the unity manifested during the assessment of the most important questions of Kosovo reality, during the 3 days of work of the 15th Conference of the Kosovo League of Communists, confirmed that in Kosovo the political trend which had created the basic prerequisites, on the basis of which it will be possible to prevent counter-revolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists, is gaining victory. This will also make it possible to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins, carry out differentiation to the end and develop a joint front for the activity of all progressive forces of all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Kosovo LC Supports Serbian LC Candidates

LD2011214689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1413 GMT 20 Nov 89

[Text] Pristina, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—The Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium has supported the proposals for Dr Bogdan Trifunovic and Tomic Raicevic to be possible candidates for president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and Milomir Minic and Dr Vlajko Petkovic to be possible candidates for secretary of the Presidium.

Starting from the already well-known stances of the largest number of municipal LC electoral conferences, something which is also the stance of this Presidium, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium proposes that Dr Bogdan Trifunovic and Milomir Minic who, the communique stresses, enjoy a special reputation and trust among Kosovo Communists, be reelected as president and secretary.

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium elected as executive secretaries Nikola Saric, Krist Gegaj, and Jonuz Ali, newly elected members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

Pristina Press Views Kosovo LC Conference

AU2011212089 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 13 Nov 89 p 1

[Isak Hasani commentary: "A New Test"]

[Text] The 15th Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Conference, during the 3 days of its proceedings at which 101 delegates elected by 107,000 LC members in Kosovo spoke, laid down a further course of action in order to carry out progressive political action raising hopes of stability and humane conditions of life.

Rahman Morina, at the end of the conference, said that it is worth fighting for a decent life for people, whatever trials and difficulties this struggle may involve.

Trials and difficulties must be expected. This is a truth of which optimists are also aware, not because the resolution that outlines tasks for the future is unclear, because there is no vision of our future development, or because there is no desire for a quiet life and for people to be able to rely on their own work, but because the conditions of the struggle are truly difficult, and because a common front is still something to be desired rather than a reality.

Albanian nationalism is still on the offensive. This is not the whole of the evil. The evil is that the difference between the aims and Albanian nationalism and the genuine interests of the Albanian nationality in Kosovo and Yugoslavia has not become fully clear to a section of the Albanian nationality. There is therefore confusion and delusion, and people, especially the young, are recruited by interests that do not further the national and class emancipation of the Albanians. The earlier an awareness of such a distinction is created, the more successful the struggle will be. Unfortunately, distorted forms of support and unsupportable views are often offered in the name of fighting against Albanian nationalism and helping to emancipate the Albanian nationality. There are not a few cases where so much venom is directed against the Albanian nationality, that hardly anybody escapes unscathed, and not even their symbols are spared.

The conference spoke out clearly and decisively on many such issues. Such clarity and decisiveness will also be necessary in the future, in policies which must assist the reforms which—even though they were the central theme of the Conference and won general support—tended to express goodwill and a vision of emerging from the crisis rather than offered a contribution with tangible ideas for the future and its goals.

A peaceful life in Kosovo—without nationalism, with plenty of work and incentives to work, with unity in trust and confidence in the efficacy of the system, with a common front, without wordiness, without emigration under pressure, but with the return of people who wish to live here, with a vigorous and uncompromising struggle against attacks of individuals against individuals and members of one nationality against those of another—is only possible if it results from the principle that the safety of persons and their dignity, property, and national identity are inviolable.

The institutions of the system can win or lose this battle, but the struggle will test their ability, determination, and ability to work and act.

If this vision of the conference becomes a reality, if the Albanians and all others succeed in defending themselves and others against Albanian nationalism, and if all others succeed in defending themselves and the Albanians from their nationalisms by always directing their common struggle correctly and effectively against the most dangerous hotbeds of nationalisms, we cannot be pessimistic.

Otherwise, optimism can neither flourish, nor yield results.

Alternative Croatian Groups Agree on Joint Action

LD1811111889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2249 GMT 17 Nov 89

[Excerpt] Zagreb, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Representatives of alternative political groups and movements in Croatia agreed this evening at a meeting of their coordinating body on two joint actions. A delegation composed of the representatives of about 10 alliances, parties, communities, or societies will seek the right to take part in a session of the coordinating committee for the activities of social organizations and associations of citizens of the Croatian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference, which, on the 21st of this month, will discuss the draft changes to the law on social organizations and associations of citizens.

The second agreed action will take place on Sunday 10 December on Human Rights' Day. At that time a peaceful protest gathering will be organized in front of the Assembly, with the aim of handing in a petition demanding that representatives of political alternative groupings also take part in the approval of several laws which they believe are very important for the organization of political life. These are legal proposals relating to internal affairs, elections, and citizens' associations. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Leaders' 'Personal Dislike' Viewed

AU1611095389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 89 p 14

[M. Krstic report: "Cadre Combinations With Recognizable Background"]

[Excerpt] Skopje, 7 Nov—[Passage omitted] The latest session of the highest Macedonian party forum will be remembered for the unusual reaction of Mihail Danev, secretary of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Macedonia, one of the two candidates for the top office of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia. His public resignation from the candidacy for this office followed some really insulting statements some individuals had made in public. Although the Central Committee refused to agree to Danev withdrawing his candidacy, Skopje VECER deemed his move as "tragicomic scenario," while NOVA MAKEDONIJA explained this "case" and the likes of it as "a consequence of old habits" in political activity. "One can draw a clear conclusion," the Skopje daily pointed out, "that a considerable number of perpetrators of these activities behind the scenes are members of the party leadership, and that is where old cases are being taken out of mothballs and (un)justified accusations made against some party candidates. Mutual accusations between the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia and the Presidium secretary have left stains on the standing and dignity of the League of Communists of Macedonia and its Central Committee. The president of the Skopje party organization also took part in all this at the previous Central Committee session."

Despite the obvious attempts "not to show one's hand," the Skopje daily says, everything shows that there is a personal dislike among top party people.

Not unjustifiably and not without fear, chroniclers of Macedonian political events assess that the existing personal disagreements among Macedonian top party people can repeat themselves at the 10th congress of the League of Communists of Macedonia, something which will certainly have some other far deeper and more serious consequences, not just for the Macedonian party.

Bosnia LC Announces Candidates for Top Posts

AU2011095089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Oct 89 p 4

[Enver Demirovic and Maristela Lucic report: "Calmly Against the Escalation of Accusations"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 30 Oct—At today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the speech by Milan Uzelac on the "illegal interference of parts of the Serbian State Security Service" was listened to with particular attention after the delegates were presented with the integral text of the report on this "case." [passage omitted]

Proposal of Candidates

The Central Committee today discussed the initial proposal of possible candidates for the posts of the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the secretary of the Presidium of this Central Committee, members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia from the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the presidents of the Statutory and Supervisory Commissions.

The delegates endorsed the list of three candidates for the president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina: Nijaz Durakovic, Smajo Beslija, and Fikret Hasanovic. Dragan Kragulj and Krste Stjepanovic are candidates for the post of the secretary of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Six candidates were proposed for the members of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. These are: Dzevad Tasic, Alija Behman, Resad Zutic, Aleksandar Kalmar, Filip Vukovic, and Zarko Primorac. [passage omitted]

Protesters Urge Investigation of Local Scandals

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[Text] Belgrade, Nov 17 (TANJUG)—Around 300 inhabitants of the town of Nevesinje, republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, arrived this morning in Belgrade to complain in the federal parliament about the actions of local authorities and "seek justice", since their demands have been ignored by the communal and republican leaderships for a long time.

During talks with parliament President Dr Slobodan Gligorijevic, the inhabitants of Nevesinje asked for help in the clearing up of a number of local scandals. They asked for the final unveiling of the amount which Bosnia-Herzegovina received as aid to the Nevesinje region after the 1979 earthquake (the inhabitants of Nevesinje claim they received only a small portion of the aid) and for the launching of criminal proceedings against all local officials who spent that money and that from the [words indistinct] (intended for the development of agriculture) for unspecified-purposes, primarily for acquiring personal gain.

The inhabitants of Nevesinje on the occasion recalled that the republican parliament last year supported their demands for the replacement of officials who abused their position, but that suggestion has never been implemented.

Since they were told that a procedure was in progress in the republican parliament of establishing facts and responsibility of individuals and were promised that an authorized commission of the federal parliament would investigate their claims on the spot, the inhabitants of Nevesinje decided to return to their homes.

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